



Cool in a Crisis



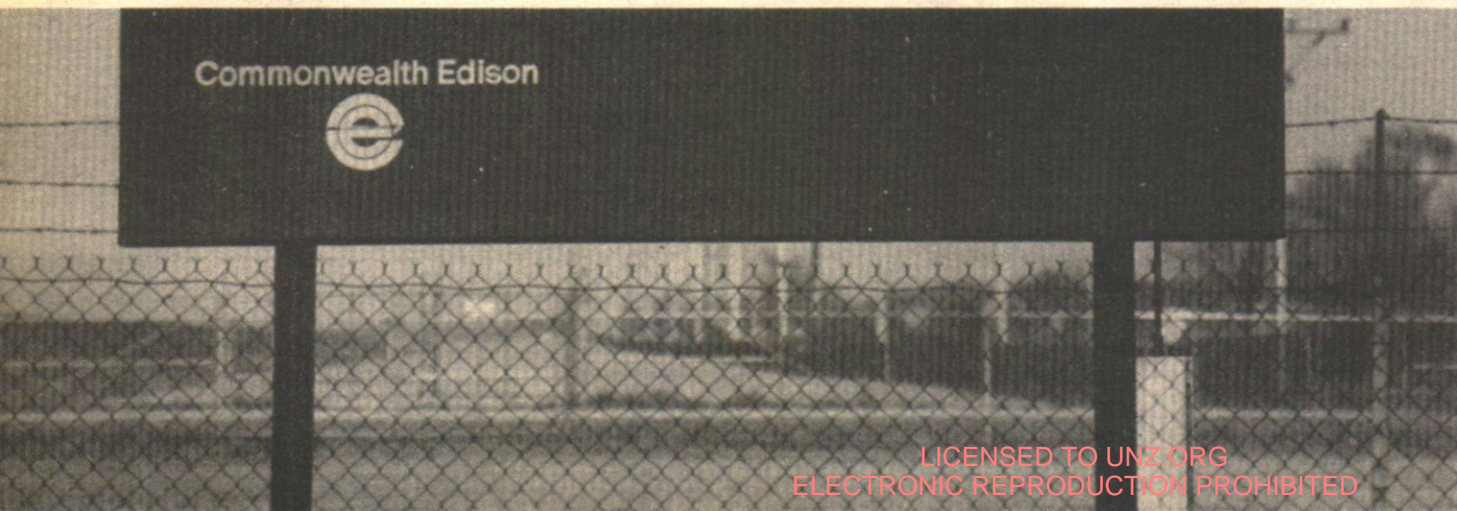
Diana Johnstone on Poland



Who's Minding the Plant?

The politics of work
in the nuclear power industry.

Commonwealth Edison



THE INSIDE STORY



Lionel Delvingne/Picture Group

Tom Hayden, Campaign for Economic Democracy

Left Democrats need new mindset

By John Judis

"If Reagan's not Thatcher, we're sunk," one labor official told me. He was referring to the possibility, widely held among Democrats to be a likelihood, of Ronald Reagan's economic policies producing the same record inflation and unemployment that British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's policies have produced.

But just as Thatcher's divided opposition make her re-election more likely, in spite of her policy failures, so Reagan's lack of credible opposition may make his—or his successor's—survival possible.

The lack of a Democratic alternative was symbolized by House Majority leader Jim Wright, who has been seeking to make his defense against Reagan on the basis of defending the bloated synfuels program. He also has sent a letter to House Democrats urging them to defend programs for the poor from Reagan's budget ax, and has sponsored with conservatives Phil Gramm and Trent Lott a punitive budget balancing bill that would wring even more social expenditures out of the 1982 budget.

On a more theoretical level, the confusion is epitomized by Senators John Glenn of Ohio and Paul Tsongas of Massachusetts, who are both jockeying for the nonexistent middle in anticipation of a 1984 presidential bid. In the name of a new "humanistic realism," Tsongas has decried liberal opposition to nuclear power and energy price deregulation. Meanwhile, Glenn, in a *New York Times* op-ed piece, advanced his alternative to Reagan's soak-the-poor tax program.

"Why must we gamble that personal cuts will eventually spill over into investment?" Glenn asks. Ignoring that without any tax cut, income taxes will increase, as a result of inflation and social security, 16.8 percent next year for a family of four making \$15,000 and 18.8 percent for a family of four making \$20,000, Glenn proposes a much more "modest" personal tax reduction than the Reagan proposal and a greater tax reduction for business.

If the Democrats come up with such proposals in 1982 and 1984, it will not be surprising if the Republicans continue to gain ground—whether or not the Reagan program succeeds.

But some Democrats on the party's left have been developing alternatives both to Reaganomics and to "humanistic realism." Mark Green, former head of Ralph Nader's Congresswatch and an unsuccessful

congressional candidate in Manhattan last November, has proposed a "Progressive Alternative to Cowboy Capitalism" in a series of articles in the *Village Voice*. Tom Hayden in a book, *The American Future*, and in a recent article in *The Nation*, has also advanced some proposals.

The Green and Hayden proposals are significant because they are not reactionary and because unlike other current efforts on the left they do not put the cart of technique—in the form of new PACs or slogans—before the horse of a new program.

Economic democracy.

Green believes that the issue of the 1980s is "how to generate and distribute wealth in a new era." Green contrasts Reagan's "trickle-down" theory of economic growth with his own "trickle-up" theory, according to which "more democracy in the workplace, more accountability in the boardroom, more competition in the market place and smarter government forecasting of industrial trends will both create more wealth and distribute it more fairly."

Green presents proposals for achieving "economic democracy." These include requiring public shareholders in major corporations, encouraging employee-owned businesses, using union pension funds to achieve labor influence in corporate decisions, restricting corporate mergers, and establishing a "National Development Office" that would oversee industrial growth.

Green also tackles the current bugaboos about government spending and regulation. According to Green, the issue is not the size of government, but its "performance." Quoting Bob Kuttner's *Revolt of the Haves*, Green charges that the "ruinous mixed system of public private partnerships...manages to take the worst features from each sector. Instead of marrying the efficiency of private enterprise with the public purpose of government, these partnerships combine the greed of business with the sloth of bureaucracy."

Green urges "progressives" to follow the examples of Senators William Proxmire and Howard Metzenbaum in fighting federal waste and inefficiency. "To demonstrate that progressives can be budget-cutters, too," Green says, "they should go after the 'corporate subsidies' in the federal budget...and expose waste and inefficiency in the area of greatest federal spending—the military."

Green agrees with Democrats like Lee Webb who have urged the left to develop a "military strategy" to counter the dominant neo-Cold War view. (*In These Times*, Feb. 18.) But Green believes that such a strategy can be based on "the concept of sufficiency, spending enough to defend ourselves but not to satisfy the ravenous appetite of a bloated Pentagon and its corporate allies."

Green also rejects the current Republican view that government spending is the sole cause of inflation. While he thinks reductions in current defense expenditures can dampen inflation, he cites E.F. Schumacher's general rule that prices go up when corporations raise them. Green's inflation program would focus on sectoral price controls (e.g., hospital cost containment), but he doesn't rule out "tax-based incomes policy" or even outright wage-price controls.

Theory vs. practice.

Hayden's proposals, as presented in *The Nation*, are remarkably similar to Green's. (Detroit city council member Ken Cockrel will discuss *America's Future* in a forthcoming review.) Both recommend greater corporate accountability through placing public members

on corporate boards, a sectoral approach to inflation ("breaking the concentrated power of private monopolies over necessities like food and medicine"), government encouragement of energy conservation, and a "Spartan" concept of national security.

But there are some differences between the two that are worth noting. Green, perhaps reflecting his Manhattan/Washington, D.C. political base, is much more unequivocally committed than Hayden to affirmative action, abortion rights, and seemingly the whole range of "McGovernite" social issues that split the Democrats in 1972 and undoubtedly cost them some races in 1978 and 1980. Hayden speaks of the need to "handle divisive issues with care," and "where this appears necessary," to pursue a "dual strategy" of raising an issue through an independent movement without making it a litmus test of party loyalty.

Like any veteran Naderite, Green does not shrink from defending "big government," but his actual proposals for government intervention are quite piecemeal and in some cases are intended to strengthen rather than replace market forces. For instance, he prefers "tax-based incomes policies" to the more activist wage-price controls; he favors draconian anti-trust measures and a progressive business tax; and his "National Development Office" would function largely in an advisory role.

On the other hand, Hayden, as always, is wary of appearing to be a supporter of "big government" or an unequivocal opponent of big business. "It is insane to oppose all forms of private property or capitalism and expect to have a significant voice in America," Hayden says. But his proposals for government intervention go well beyond what Green or any self-proclaimed defender of capitalism might propose.

For instance, he proposes an "industrial recovery plan to deal with neglected sectors at home and the invasion of competition abroad. If basic industries like autos want government bailouts, they should in return be producing mass transit equipment as well as fuel efficient cars running on gasohol from the Middle West." By the example of the auto industry, Hayden would seem eager to vest this plan with more than theoretical authority.

Hayden also proposes an "innovation policy" that would include a "planned and urgent government-investment strategy directed toward renewable resources like solar energy and cutting-edge technologies like electronics" and a "new partnership in making economic decisions among corporations, labor, government and public interest groups."

There is a certain clash between theory and program here that reflects the dilemma of a left trying to devise feasible and popular alternatives within a political culture still dominated by the anti-government axioms of Lockean liberalism. In his report on the AFL-CIO conference in Bal Harbour, David Moberg detected the same inconsistency between the AFL-CIO's general political themes and its programs. (*In These Times*, March 4.)

In the absence of a philosophy consistent with the boldness of their programs, Hayden, the AFL-CIO and Green will often find themselves arguing on their opponents' turf. Aren't you proposing, they'll be asked, more government, big government, bureaucracy, or even socialism? And while they may be able to defend themselves against any one objection, they will not be able to do what is necessary: shift the political debate away from Lockean liberalism, so that the public can grasp the need for drastically new governmental principles.

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Reason eases a tense Poland

By Diana Johnstone

PARIS

EVERYTHING HAD BEEN SET UP—threats, admonitions, food shortages, a classic provocation, conspicuous military maneuvers—for the Soviet-backed hardliners to take over the decisive March 29 central committee meeting and launch a crackdown. Instead, the partisans of democratic renewal—*odnowa*—emerged victorious from the dramatic 18-hour confrontation. As “brotherly” Soviet and East German armed forces rumbled interminably back and forth across the Polish landscape, the majority of the Polish United Workers Party (“scarcely worker, less united than ever, but still Polish”) turned its listening ear to the Polish people. For once, the real workers on the central committee, the “marble men” whose role has always been to shut up and look proletarian, spoke their minds. The rank and file was on the side of Solidarity. “The use of force would be not only a tragedy for the nation, but would discredit the very idea of socialism in the world,” the secretary for Siedlce warned.

Occasionally liberal, constantly ambitious Stefan Olszowski, who has apparently staked his future career on Russian power, praised cooperation with the US-



A European cartoon shows Poland as the black sheep of the Warsaw Pact.

SR and called on the central committee to endorse the joint Soviet-Polish statement, wrested from Polish leaders in Moscow March 4, calling for a “reversal” of the course of events in Poland.

Defying Soviet directives, the central committee held to the course of “renewal” and gave in to rank-and-file demands to hold a special Party congress as soon

as possible—before July 20. In preparation for the Congress, democratic elections are to be held within the party. They promise to assure a strong pro-renewal majority.

Thus the Communist Party itself is slipping out of Moscow’s grip. From the Kremlin viewpoint, this is the worst thing that could possibly happen. The ghost of

Eurocommunism, murdered in Czechoslovakia in 1968, has come back to haunt Eastern Europe.

Before the central committee meeting, tension had been high for 10 days, since police on March 19 broke up a meeting in Bydgoszcz between local officials and Solidarity representatives who had come to discuss legal recognition of the farmers’ branch of the free union. Several Solidarity people, including national leader Jan Rulewski, were so badly beaten by police they had to be hospitalized.

The incident had all the earmarks of a classic police provocation—that is, an attack designed to make a target group overreact and thus cut itself off politically from a less sensitive majority. Coming just a fortnight after Brezhnev ordered PUWP leader Stanislaw Kania to “reverse the course of events,” and just three days after the start of Warsaw Pact maneuvers on Polish soil, the timing looked suspicious. Was Bydgoszcz the signal to start rolling back the gains made by the free union? Solidarity threatened to shut down the country in an unprecedented general strike. The union demanded sanctions against officials responsible for the police brutality, as well as registration of the new farmers union, access to news media, an end to prosecution of political dissidents and rescinding of a 50 percent limit on strike pay.

Meanwhile, a clamor of scandalized outcries arose from Poland’s friendly neighbors, the USSR, Czechoslovakia and East Germany (the countries participating in the maneuvers), whose media have for months been portraying the Poles as thoughtless, ungrateful incompetents who have squandered economic aid lavished on them and let themselves be led into violent chaos by their own religious fanaticism and agents of capitalist imperialism. The union demands were portrayed as pushing the country over the brink of total collapse, as part of a deliberate plot against “socialism.”

The Polish government headed by Gen. Wojciech Jaruzelski, who had concluded an earlier crisis in February by a 90-day “social truce” with the union, only to have his credibility undermined by Brezhnev’s command, alternately blew hot and cold.

Fork-tongued “liberal” editor Mieczyslaw Rakowski, picked to represent the government in negotiations with union leaders, accused Solidarity of “incredible agitation” against the government out of all proportion to what happened at Bydgoszcz. “Do you want to demonstrate to the whole world that independent unions run by the workers cannot exist under socialism because they bring about the country’s collapse and destroy domestic tranquility?” Rakowski asked.

Lech Walesa replied, “Our stubborn-
Continued on page 7

Now it’s time for hard, boring work

Andrzej Gwiazda and his wife Joana Duda-Gwiazda played a leading role in May 1978 in founding the Baltic free union committee that organized the 1980 Gdansk strikes leading to the creation of Solidarity. Gwiazda, a 45-year-old technician, actually negotiated the key demand for a free union with Polish government representatives in August 1980. Considered leader of the radical tendency in Solidarity, wary of the Catholic Church hierarchy, Gwiazda is vice president of Solidarity national committee, the free union’s number two leader after Lech Walesa.

Here are excerpts from an interview with Gwiazda that appeared in January in the official weekly *Literatura*.

“Here in Gdansk, as well as in other parts of the country, people in the local committees are voicing alarm, especially over wildcat strikes that keep going on. We rush from place to place, we calm people down, we explain. But I tell those who are scared out of their wits that if people go on strike, it’s not because they don’t want to work but usually because they have a good reason....

“Not long ago, we had a dramatic scene. A delegation arrived from the Irena glassworks—a girl in tears and two boys just as upset. They had been on strike for four days already. The director had simply walked out and told them they could strike for three months, because a plant like that could be shut down for good; there was no need for it.

“And in fact, no one had been willing to talk with them. We had to help those people right away. We asked them to show us their demands. We made some corrections. We told them they should divide them into general demands, demands to management, and that certain grievances should be presented to the state’s attorney. ‘And we can do that?’ they asked, all surprised. ‘Sure you can....’”

What problems are you having with the elections in Solidarity?

“We tell people: don’t be ashamed of wanting to take responsibility in the union. We want a strong union, not for our personal use, but to get things done.

“Another thing is for people to get involved so that the need for an electoral platform becomes obvious to them. The way of thinking is changing. You can no longer vote for Malinowski because he’s a nice guy who can empty half a liter of vodka and still stand up, or because he tells good jokes. No, Malinowski has to have a program; he has to know what he wants to do in the union.

“Not one of us talks about immediate results or quick success.... We have a huge amount of hard, boring work ahead of us. We have to get to it and give lots of help to union militants. This work includes a financial analysis of each enterprise, as well as a centralization of data on work safety, living conditions—for even though we’ve set up central specialized work groups, the main information has to come from the workers themselves. In each enterprise, each town, each region, there are lots of things to do that no one will do for us.

“There are needs, including psychic needs, that have been building up for a long time. For instance, there was huge frustration over the fact that work had to be sloppy, that we were producing crap, that work was done in contradiction to the most elementary rules. There was a fury against work that could only produce miserable results. It’s a funny thing that the desire to do a good job is reappearing among young people, just like what used to exist in the generation of the old foremen who would get stomach ulcers and heart attacks because they were ordered to produce any old thing just so it was fast and plenty. Young employees earning good salaries have come to see us to work in the union with just one motive: they couldn’t do good work, the principles and the pace imposed from above forced them to mess up the job.”

On co-management.

“First let’s see management, and afterwards we can talk about co-management. It’s really hard to call the ‘economic disorder we’ve had up to now ‘management.’”

“Consider the fact that until now, the government could treat the director like

a punching ball and if he wanted to keep his job he had to keep quiet and even applaud. At present, the directors who are up against pressure from the workers can become promoters of a real rationalization of economic management.

“But we won’t achieve thorough economic reform without thorough political reform. Only thorough political reform can restore people’s confidence.

“To do something, to participate in economic reform, we must have concrete data. I’ve raised this problem at every meeting with the government. In a word: without concrete information, the new unions cannot make any practical contribution to working out an



Union leader Andrzej Gwiazda

economic reform. That’s my opinion: I don’t see any possibility of correcting something that is unknown.”

On learning democracy.

“One of the things that’s made the biggest hit and people always ask about is the right to recall representatives. It’s written in Solidarity statutes that recall works just like election: that is, if there’s a majority on a motion to recall, any representative can be relieved of his responsibility. At any time. That’s what people consider one of the guarantees of democracy.” —D.J.

INSHORT

Trust me

Not everyone believes Thomas W. Pauken, Reagan's choice to head Action, when he says he's "comfortable" with the autonomous status of the Peace Corps under the good-works agency's umbrella. Among the skeptics are senators Paul Tsongas, Christopher Dodd and Alan Cranston, who were nonetheless unable to prevent their colleagues on the Senate Foreign Relations Committee from voting 8-7 to send Pauken's confirmation on to the full Senate.

As former volunteers, Tsongas and Dodd would be particularly aware of the Peace Corps' sensitivity to any charges of a connection to U.S. intelligence operations overseas—and that's the problem with Pauken. In a pre-vote letter to Sen. Charles Percy, chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee, Cranston warned that "Mr. Pauken has not been candid about the extent of his intelligence work and connection from 1967 to 1973." Despite Pauken's protestations that the military just "happened to assign me" to intelligence in Vietnam, Cranston wrote, enlistment records show that Pauken requested the assignment. And during his 1968-69 stint in Vietnam, Pauken "was actively involved in 'covert' and 'clandestine' intelligence-gathering activities," according to the letter.

At the Senate hearings, former Peace Corps general counsel William Josephson testified that if Pauken wins the Action post, "for the first time, to my knowledge, the United States will have acted, however unintentionally, to lend credence to the false charge that the Peace Corps is an arm of U.S. intelligence." A Jack Anderson column warned that Pauken's confirmation "could jeopardize the safety of American volunteers abroad." And amid the grumblings at Action headquarters, there is a growing sentiment that the ties between Action and the Peace Corps should be severed as soon as possible.

Goodbye, VISTA

Some folks at the Peace Corps may want to split from Action, but VISTA—also under Action's wing—has no choice. "A decision has been made to phase out the VISTA program in fiscal year 1983," said a memorandum distributed this month to employees of VISTA and Action. As of Sept. 30, 1980, 4,800 VISTA volunteers were working in 2,000 communities across the country.

A rough draft of the memo, obtained by the Associated Press, referred to "the evolution of new ways of mobilizing citizens in voluntary services to their fellow Americans, and especially to the poor." The final version deleted the phrase "and especially to the poor." That was the only change.

Watch out, FoIA

The CIA has apparently decided that we already know enough—maybe too much. The *Washington Post* reports that the agency has sent a message to Congress proposing that it be granted a complete exemption from provisions of the Freedom of Information Act. In past years, the CIA has requested only certain specific exemptions to keep its operational and technical files secret—now it wants to slam all the drawers shut.

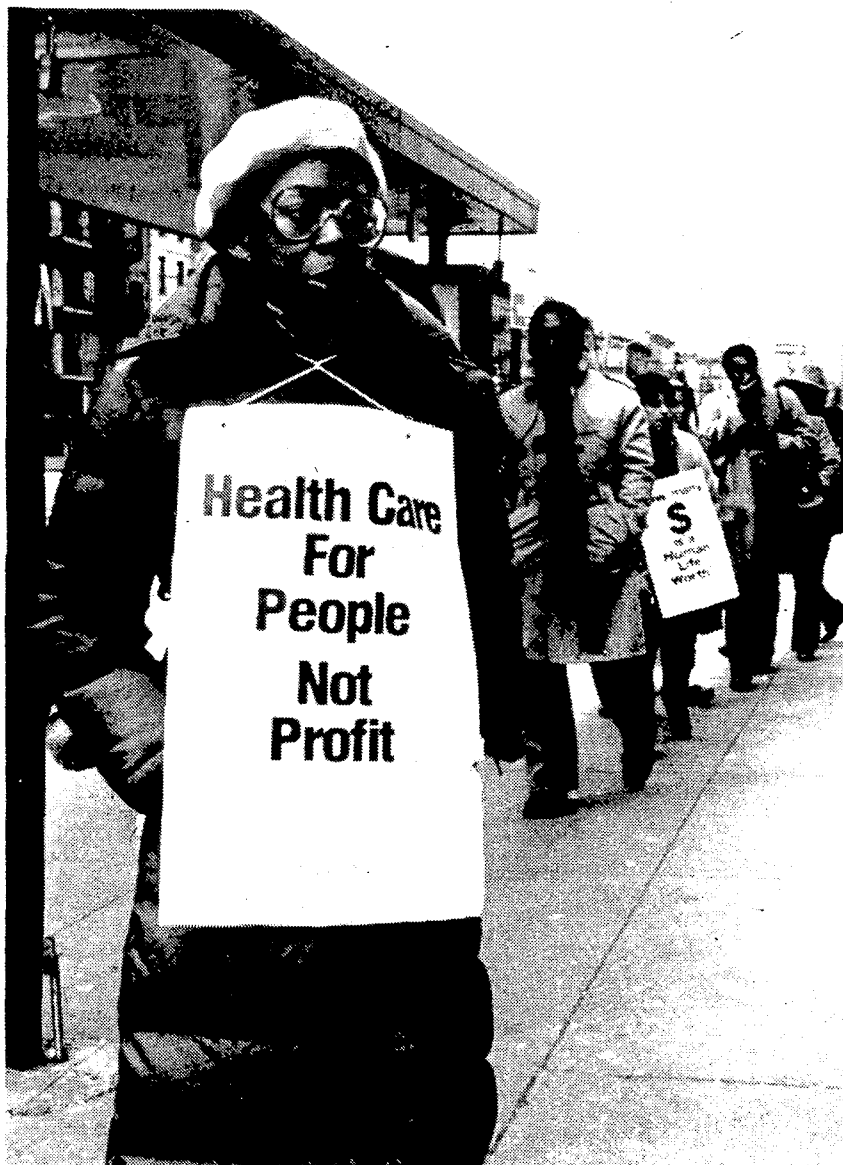
According to the Zodiac News Service, CIA deputy director Max Hugel has taken to arguing that requests under the FoIA are hindering the agency's ability to "perform its vital mission." Hugel also claims that the Act has only rarely produced information of public interest. Victims of CIA dabblings in illegal domestic spying and mind-control and drug-testing experiments might dispute this.

"I really must be going..."

On April 2, 500 residents of Chicago's 8th congressional district conducted the fifth and largest of the "people's hearings" organized by the Illinois Coalition Against Reagan Economics (ICARE). The star attraction at the meeting, held not far from *In These Times*' offices, was Rep. Daniel D. Rostenkowski, the powerful chairman of the House Ways and Means Committee and leader of Chicago's Democratic delegation in Washington.

For nearly two hours, the old-line Daley man withstood—and evaded—demands that he oppose impending cuts in welfare and unemployment compensation, food stamps, daycare, youth programs and energy assistance for the poor. "He refused to commit himself," said ICARE executive director Milt Cohen, "but he got the message strong and clear." No one from the ethnically diverse 8th C.D. could remember the last time Rostenkowski had shown up to hear his constituents' demands.

—Josh Kornbluth



Health-care workers picket Harlem Hospital in support of the CIR's ill-fated strike.

New York City to doctors: let your patients drop dead

NEW YORK—Last month, 2,500 interns and residents in New York City defied a court order and walked off the job for seven days. The doctors, all members of the militant Committee of Interns and Residents (CIR), were asking for guaranteed minimum staffing levels for physicians, nurses and technicians, as well as for an end to shortages of crucial medical equipment. These are guarantees that, to some extent, have been won in the past by doctors' organizations in Chicago, Boston and San Francisco.

That there exists a doctors' union at all underscores the changing face of American medicine. Increasing numbers of physicians (an estimated 40 percent of practicing doctors) now work as salaried employees of city or private hospitals or large private health-care organizations such as Health Insurance Plan (HIP). These are institutions run by managers, not doctors, whose interest is in the bottom line rather than in improving conditions in hospitals with no beds for critically ill patients, no blankets and long lines to get into the emergency room.

"There is nothing new or particularly innovative about what we are seeking," Dr. Jonathan House, the 33-year-old head of the union remarked one night during the strike. "What we want—a rational approach to staffing levels that the city itself believes is necessary—would allow the municipal hospital system to run in the black. Increased reimbursement by third parties—Medicaid, Medicare and private health insurers—would follow from more efficient health care of more people."

But the city bureaucracy didn't address that argument. Mayor Edward Koch and the quasi-public Health and Hospitals Corporation,

which he controls, were clearly scared of setting a precedent by allowing city workers to control workplace conditions. Koch feared that such a settlement with the CIR would have repercussions in his dealings with other, more powerful city unions like those of the police and the firefighters. He was pleased by the lukewarm support the doctors received from many of the city's labor leaders.

The city fined the doctors two days' pay for each day of the strike and threatened to withhold vital medical certification. After a tearful, stormy meeting, the CIR's 70-member strike committee voted to end the walkout after one week without achieving any of the guarantees it had sought from the city. A long strike, doctors reasoned, would have a disastrous impact on the union's limited financial resources.

—Eric Nadler

GM to warn of shutdowns

Under pressure from church groups and labor activists, General Motors recently agreed to publicize for the first time its policy on advance notice of plant closings, and to give at least six months' notice in advance of permanent plant shutdowns.

The decision was announced by the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a branch of the New York-based National Council of Churches. It followed a month of negotiations between the nation's number one car maker and three church groups that had threatened to introduce a shareholders' resolution requiring such notification at

the next annual GM shareholders meeting. In return for GM's pledge to give the notice, the groups—which have purchased small amounts of stock in the corporation to enable them to raise such issues at annual meetings—agreed to shelve the resolution indefinitely. While such a resolution would have little chance of passing, it could embarrass the corporation and damage its public image.

Keith Rolland of the Interfaith Center called the agreement—publicized by GM in the April issue of its shareholders' publication, *Public Interest Report*—"a major step forward. It means the company can be kept more accountable to the public." He said the church groups that did the negotiating, as well as locals of the United Auto Workers, will monitor the company's adherence to the new policy.

Company spokesman insisted that there has been no change in GM policy, other than to state it publicly. "We've always tried to give at least six months' notice before a closing," one said. But in fact, workers at GM's New Departure Hyatt Bearing plant in Clark Township, N.J., were given only four months' notice when they learned last month that their plant would be closing down beginning this July unless a buyer is found. And late in 1979, GM laid off without any notice all 3,600 workers at an assembly plant in Southgate, Calif., for an indefinite period. Today 1,800 of them remain unemployed.

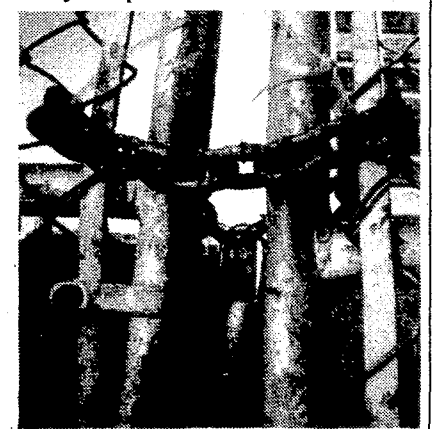
For years, the UAW has tried unsuccessfully to get GM, Ford and Chrysler to include policies of advance notice in union contracts. Short notice in a plant shutdown is doubly damaging to workers because in addition to losing their jobs and often losing credit for work-hours put toward a pension, they have no time to plan ahead financially for a period of unemployment. Nor do they have a chance to retrain for some new profession.

In many European countries, such as Sweden and West Germany, the state requires firms to give anywhere from six months' to a year's notice before moving or closing down a plant. The U.S. has no such laws.

The advance-notice policy, if GM makes good on its promise, will give much-needed added security to auto workers, especially in older plants. With GM and the other U.S. automakers posting record losses in 1980 and the sales outlook this year remaining unpredictable, there is a strong possibility of more plant shutdowns.

—Dave Lindorff

The padlocked front gates of a Chrysler plant.



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ELECTIONS

Sunbelt first in San Antonio

By Laurence Jolidon

SAN ANTONIO, TEXAS

SAN ANTONIO IS AN OLD military town. The missions came first, but the stockades and quartermasters' depots quickly followed, first under the Mexicans, then the tall, blue-eyed Anglos.

Some days on the downtown streets it seems every other person is in uniform. In or near this sprawling city of 800,000, now the country's ninth largest, are four Air Force bases, a massive Army post at Ft. Sam Houston, and thousands of military retirees who have shed their uniforms but prefer living close to the fort. When the Reagan administration talks of boosting defense spending, backs stiffen here, as though a general is about to visit the mess hall.

But San Antonio is also a teeming terminus of the new brown America—that third world of the Spanish-speaking within the nation's borders that grows more populous and more powerful each year. Mexican-Americans make up half the city's known population and an uncounted stream of undocumented workers swell the city's ghetto streets and its labor force.

And since nearly half the city's registered voters bear Spanish surnames—testimony to a growing political awareness—it was not that surprising when San Antonio this month elected Henry Cisneros as the first Hispanic mayor of a major U.S. city. The surprise was in the overwhelming multi-ethnic mandate he received, and the novelty was in his method: by adopting a pro-business, centrist stance the 33-year-old Cisneros attracted the support of affluent Anglos normally distrustful of ambitious ethnic politicians. He gained 62 percent of the vote in an eight-candidate field, taking more than half the vote in 10 council districts and burying his closest rival, businessman and Reagan supporter John Steen, who managed to gain only 36.4 percent.

"It gives me a base to work from," said Cisneros. The city's predominantly Anglo districts backed him with unprecedented turnouts for a Chicano candidate (37 to 55.5 percent of the total votes cast). And in predominantly Mexican-American precincts, Cisneros fever ran so high that turnout there was more than 80 percent higher than for the city council elections in 1979, when Cisneros declined to run for re-election to his council seat.

Democrats take heart.

Cisneros' surprisingly easy win to succeed three-term Mayor Lila Cockrell boosted morale among fellow Democrats in the state, who since Reagan's win last fall have had little to cheer about—least of all the tide of Texans returning from posts in the Carter administration.

"If nothing else," said one Democratic loyalist, "this proves that, in Texas at least, the Republicans were talking through their hats when they said that the whole country had turned to the right in November."

But such relief may be premature; Cisneros is not a stereotypical ethnic politician, much less a typical Texas Democrat. While he endorsed Carter last fall, he describes himself as "pragmatic" and a "neo-conservative" who firmly believes in using municipal government as a tool for aiding the city's economic development so that jobs and income will flow to San Antonio's depressed labor force.

While on the council, for instance, he pushed to make city land available to an electronics manufacturer in return for a pledge to employ a significant number of Mexican-Americans. But in his campaigns he has avoided the traditional Chicano rallying cries that focus on civil rights and social issues such as bilingual education. That has unsettled some of

his fellow Hispanic political leaders, who believe such issues are still of primary concern to the vast majority of Mexican-Americans in Texas. They live, after all, in a state where mistreatment of brown people at the hands of law enforcement officers seems only to ebb, never disappear, and where the state legislature was the only one in the nation to pass a law denying free public education to the children of undocumented immigrants. (The state is currently under federal court orders both to admit all children to public schools and to provide bilingual education throughout elementary and secondary grades.)

Mixed signals to business.

On the pocketbook and safety issue of nuclear energy, Cisneros favors San Antonio's remaining a partner in a controversial nuclear generating plant near the Gulf Coast that for the past few years has been a target of many anti-nuclear and community groups.

"It's great for the Hispanic community for Henry to get the mayor's job," said one Mexican-American political activist, "but he's moody and is perceived as willing to shift alliances to suit his political advantage. He will have to work very hard on his credibility with both Hispanics and the business community."

Part of the distrust the establishment community exhibits, of course, is traceable to the fact that Cisneros represents an ethnic group that Anglos in the Southwest have long viewed as lazy, ignorant and welfare-prone. Personally, however, the new mayor is a model of accomplishment. After graduating from college in

Henry Cisneros celebrates his decisive win over seven other candidates.

Though Anglos voted for Cisneros in large numbers, some fear his unpredictable "pragmatism."

Texas, he studied urban affairs at Harvard and was named a White House fellow during the Nixon administration. He now teaches urban affairs at the University of Texas at San Antonio, a job he says he will hang on to since the mayor's post pays only \$50 per month.

But he also sends the business community conflicting signals, some observers say. For example, he helped promote a major industrial park development to be built by an Hispanic group out of California, then moved to disassociate himself from the project when rumors began to circulate that he was just another ethnic politician all too willing to defer to persons of the same hue.

In short, what Cisneros refers to as pragmatism comes across in practice as unpredictability—and that worries any local city establishment. But one certainty is that Cisneros, articulate and altar-boy handsome, has become a national symbol, a high-profile ethnic presence in a minority that is moving rapidly toward claiming political and social influence in proportion to its numbers.

While some close friends and associates point out that Cisneros is now well-positioned to try for San Antonio con-

gressman Henry B. Gonzalez' seat, for now Cisneros has enough to do claiming the reins of a city trying to come out of the economic doldrums of the 1970s. More than a half-dozen companies are planning manufacturing plants in the city, and Cisneros says he is eager to talk with several other companies that have expressed an interest in relocating here. A widened tax base, he believes, accompanied by expanded job training programs, can bring economic growth that will "serve the best interests of all San Antonians."

Meanwhile, down the road.

In Austin, the course that economic growth should take in an urban, sunbelt environment was also an issue in this month's municipal elections. Attorney Bob Binder, a no-growth advocate who served on the city council in the early '70s, when a liberal majority held sway, ran well ahead of incumbent mayor Carole McClellan, a moderate bidding for a third term on a platform of "controlled growth." Binder, who will face McClellan in a run-off next month, has promised to work to extricate the city from the same nuclear power project that San Antonio is a partner in. McClellan favors staying in it, despite expensive cost overruns and quality control problems.

The combined effect of Binder's strong showing and the election to a council seat of political consultant Roger Duncan—another liberal who campaigned on an anti-nuke, no-growth platform—was to send shock waves through the ranks of developers who have flocked to Austin in recent years in response to the in-migration of a technical workforce akin to the growth of San Jose, Calif., in the '60s. According to one planning consultant, several new industries considering building new plants in the Austin area have already hired people to design their own independently-operated generating plants, just in case. And the major housing developers are said to have already turned their eyes, and calculators, toward the hills of adjoining counties. ■

Laurence Jolidon is a journalist and screenwriter based in Austin.





Nicaragua grows bananas and coffee for export, but it must rely on imports for many types of grain.

Aid cut recalls battle of Chile

By Peter Shiras

WASHINGTON

THE REAGAN ADMINISTRATION announced on April 1 that it is continuing indefinitely the suspension of all aid to the government of Nicaragua despite intelligence reports that no arms have been flowing through that country since Feb. 10. The decision immediately effects the withholding of \$36.4 million in development assistance funds and food aid credits earmarked for Nicaragua. But the State Department stopped short of demanding immediate repayment of \$40 million in loans already disbursed—a step that technically could be invoked under the law that prohibits aid to Nicaragua if it is supporting guerrilla movements in Central America.

The continued withholding of aid comes at a time of increasing attacks by the new administration on the Nicaraguan revolution. In hearings before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in late March, Secretary of State Alexander Haig described Nicaragua as already “lost”—the first victim on a communist “hit list” to take over Central America. He went on to describe what he termed a “military build-up” in Nicaragua’s armed forces and popular militias and concluded by saying, “We are clearly going to have to do something in the very near future.” He refused to elaborate on what that something might be.

The Nicaraguan government has consistently denied reports that it is channeling arms to the Salvadoran guerrillas. The State Department’s case rests on the now famous “white paper” that has proven under scrutiny to be a contradictory and far from convincing document (see *In These Times*, April 1). Nevertheless, the charge that Nicaragua is aiding the Salvadoran left has provided a facile mechanism to both justify increased military aid to the Salvadoran junta and to

deny economic aid to Nicaragua.

While the media have focused on El Salvador, very little attention has been paid to U.S. policy toward Nicaragua and its destabilizing effect on an economy still trying to recover from the devastation wreaked by Somoza during the war of liberation.

While the aid cutoff affects all monies going to the government of Nicaragua, aid to the private sector there quietly continues to go through—in the form of outright grants, not loans. In 1980, \$5 million was channeled to private sector organizations in Nicaragua. This year another \$5.6 million is going to support such causes as a business training institute, scholarships for students at the American school, and the Superior Council of Private Enterprise (COSEP)—a key supporter of the opposition political party, the Nicaraguan Democratic Movement, headed by Alfonso Robelo. In addition, money continues to flow to the American Institute for Free Labor Development (AIFLD) for its activities in Nicaragua. (AIFLD was also one of the few agencies to receive money from the U.S. to operate in Chile during the campaign to destabilize the Allende government and reputedly has close ties to the CIA.)

Nicaragua depends on imported wheat from the U.S. to meet its bread needs since its tropical climate prevents it from growing its own. Last year, it imported 5,000 metric tons of wheat per month from the U.S. through the P.L. 480 food aid program. The present wheat suspension amounts to a nine-month supply worth \$9.5 million, and comes at a time when the demand for bread and flour products in Nicaragua is higher than ever before. While bread has traditionally been the fare of the middle and upper classes, the demand for bread has risen recently among the poorer classes as a result of higher minimum wages and new employment.

So while the U.S. fiddles with its intel-

The U.S. will continue to fund private-sector organizations in Nicaragua.

ligence reports, the Nicaraguan government is looking for new supplies of wheat. Both Canada and the European community reportedly have been cooperative in seeking to relieve the present shortage. But it is unlikely that Nicaragua can obtain terms as favorable as those of the P.L. 480 program, which provide for a 20-year repayment, a five-year grace period with interest of 2 percent and a 3 percent interest rate on the balance. Commercial terms generally follow the prime interest rate, now hovering around 18 percent, with repayment periods of six months to three years. Thus, even if Nicaragua is able to secure new supplies of wheat, it will have to cut deeper into its already seriously depleted foreign currency reserves.

The ripple effect.

The Export-Import Bank, the U.S. agency that provides loan guarantees for commercial sales to foreign countries, also has drastically cut back credits for Nicaragua. In fiscal year 1979, which roughly corresponds to the final year of the Somoza dictatorship, the EX-IM Bank provided \$8.9 million in guarantees and insurance for commercial sales to Nicaragua. But in the first year of the revolution, that figure dropped to \$40,000. EX-IM officials contend that the financial situation after the revolution was such that no “reasonable assurance of repayment” could be guaranteed so they discouraged any transactions with the new government. Yet that government has been forced to repay the loans extended to the Somoza regime, which EX-IM, even in the final days, apparently believed had “reasonable assurance of repayment.”

There is a danger that the current U.S. aid suspension may have a ripple effect on other sources of credit. Already in jeopardy is \$53 million in proposed U.S. aid to Nicaragua for FY1982. Beyond that, Nicaragua has submitted to the Inter-American Development Bank (IDB) and the World Bank a total of 14 loan

requests totalling close to \$300 million. If the U.S. attempts to block these development loans (as it did in the case of Chile), it could deal a crippling blow to the Nicaraguan economy.

So far, according to the Nicaraguan representative to the World Bank, Roberto Mayorga, relations between the Bank and Nicaragua are perfectly normal. Nor have any signs of U.S. pressure been noted, as yet, at the IDB. But a report by a congressional delegation recently returned from Central America states that U.S.-Nicaragua relations “will become wholly untenable...if the administration should decide to combine an aid cut-off with diplomatic initiatives aimed at drying up other sources of foreign credit for Nicaragua. Such a policy would be deemed by Nicaragua an act of economic aggression motivated by a desire to destabilize their government.”

The Nicaraguan government scored a major financial victory last October when it successfully rescheduled its private foreign debt with a consortium of multinational banks. The terms that Nicaragua received were unprecedented in international banking and included a five-year grace period on repayment of the principal of the loans to allow the economy time to get back on its feet.

But so far, Nicaragua has not been able to renegotiate its debt to multilateral and bilateral agencies (grouped into the so-called Paris Club), due primarily to U.S. insistence that Nicaragua agree to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) stabilization program for the economy. Nicaragua has flatly refused to accept such conditions, familiar as it is with the IMF’s role in other countries such as Jamaica. Nicaragua did succeed in rescheduling its public debt with most other countries on an individual basis after the U.S. blocked the general settlement with the Paris Club. But the U.S. is apparently continuing its efforts to involve the IMF in Nicaragua and is pushing this line among its European allies.

Although historical comparisons are misleading, the following excerpt from a 1974 booklet by Richard Barnet entitled, *The Lessons of Chile*, is instructive vis-à-vis Nicaragua:

“We know that the official U.S. lending agency, the EX-IM Bank, refused to continue credits to Chile to permit the importation of vital materials, spare parts, and food from the United States. We know that the U.S. used its dominant position in the multilateral agencies IDB and World Bank to boycott loans to Chile (with the exception of two conservative universities). We know that U.S. aid was cut off except for a few training grants, visits of the American Institute of Free Labor Development...and military aid.”

One economist familiar with both the Chilean and Nicaraguan cases believes that the Reagan-Haig plans for Nicaragua could follow closely the spirit of the so-called Korry cable sent by U.S. ambassador Edward Korry to Henry Kissinger in September 1970. The cable reads in part, “Not a nut or a bolt will be allowed to reach Chile.... Once Allende comes to power in Chile, we will do all in our power to condemn Chile and Chileans to the utmost deprivation and poverty; a policy designed for a long time to come to accelerate the hard features of a communist society in Chile.”

One of the obvious differences between Nicaragua and Chile, however, is that the U.S. cannot supply and support an army within Nicaragua to carry out a *coup d’état*. But the U.S. does seem bent on preparing such an army across the border in Honduras where Somoza’s ex-National Guard is operating and where the U.S. is lavishly bestowing military hardware and advisors on the Honduran military.

But as the new Nicaraguan ambassador to the U.S. Arturo Cruz put it recently, “...if any government decides to interfere in the affairs of my country, and if it decides to attack this country, be it by economic aggression or armed aggression, I can assure you that my country would come first. This is the way 99 percent of the people feel...”

Peter Shiras, an economist who has worked as a consultant to the Inter-American Development Bank, visited Nicaragua and Honduras in late January.

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DOCUMENTS

Polish democracy in embryo



Members of Solidarity gather in Gdansk to discuss the most recent turn of events.

"TO TELL THE TRUTH, WE feel the need for democracy, but when it comes to figuring out how to make it work, we are raw beginners," admitted an editorialist in the *Solidarity* bulletin for the FSM automobile factories in Bielsko Biala last December. The internal documents of the new free Polish union provide glimpses of self-taught Polish democracy.

The Gdansk system.

The Bielsko Biala auto workers bulletin told a story.

"We were in the midst of elections

when a new voting system arrived from Gdansk. Like our own, it wasn't perfect. In Gdansk they're learning too. But their system had two features worth using.

"First, it set a strict condition: every union official must get 50 percent of the votes plus one vote, which makes sure that the person elected has really broad support.

"Second, it chose all union committees in two phases. One half of the committee must be elected directly by the sections at the base, the other half at a meeting of the whole plant or company. That sees to it that no group can complain of not being represented. The fact that half

are elected at a general meeting also means that if a particular section has more than one person who wants to work in the union, they won't be wasted.

"Those were the advantages, but there was also a drawback. The system was hard to apply in our big departments. It took a huge amount of work. We had to organize elections in four stages: first in the union groups of 10 to 70 people, then in the sections corresponding to production shops, with 100 to 400 people, then in the departments of about 1,000 people and finally at the level of the whole enterprise.

"In smaller enterprises there was no

such problem. First they voted in the sections and then went straight to the company-wide meeting."

The value of abstention.

In the *Gdansk Solidarity* bulletin, Wiktor Adam Sokotowski offered some reflections on democratic practice, including abstention.

"When it comes to making a decision, the vote should be in answer to a question put in clear unambiguous terms. The result of the vote should include three figures: the number of 'yes' votes, the number of 'no' votes, and the number of 'I don't know' or 'I abstain.' The possibility of abstaining is underestimated or poorly used. Yet it is an important mechanism for true democracy. It's a way to avoid thoughtless spur-of-the-moment votes. A large number of abstentions is proof that the solution to a problem is not yet clear, that the decision requires more precise preparation and debate. The best advantage of being able to abstain is that the decision is made by those who know about the problem and not by those who, if they can't abstain, vote for or against according to secondary motivations. Abstention can improve debate if applied often and rigorously. It suffices to adopt the rule that a resolution passes only if the number of abstentions is below a certain level, for example 10 percent of votes cast. The vote can then be taken often during a debate.

"The advantages are: it quickly shows when enough has been said and it's time to go on to the next topic; and it's a way to calm things down when debate has become over-heated and gone astray."

(From *Alternative*, a review of Eastern European affairs, Paris)

Renewal

Continued from page 3

ness may not be justified on every point; perhaps it's exaggerated. But what matters is not to go back to the way things used to be. Bydgoszcz was the sign that everything was starting over.... We are not attacking the militia or the apparatus in power, but the fact is we've taken a lot of beatings in our lives from certain people in that apparatus.... We're not threatening either the government, or the party, or socialism or existing alliances. We will never advocate that course.... Our position is not anti-socialist, but we don't think what happened was lawful, and we are afraid more such incidents may take place."

Significantly, Walesa's reply was broadcast over Polish radio and television, getting around Olszowski, in charge

by 40 prominent intellectuals including Journalists Union president Stefan Bratkowski calling the militia intervention unjustified and wondering whether the incident had not been "deliberately organized" to restore a "sense of impunity to a particularly incompetent and corrupt fraction of the ruling apparatus."

At the central committee meeting, Olszowski accused Bratkowski of factionalism aimed at splitting the party base from the leadership.

Kania himself was reportedly aghast at the deluge of appeals for a compromise with Solidarity pouring in from the party rank and file, even though it supported—and perhaps saved—his "moderate" leadership.

The Soviet response.

Some Moscow observers suggest that the much-noted *Pravda* editorial signed Alexandrov (meaning top Kremlin leadership) attacking the Reagan administration had less to do with U.S.-Soviet relations than with Moscow's efforts to create the proper mood in its own camp for an intervention in Poland, by blaming the U.S. in advance for wrecking detente.

Having pulled out all the stops only to be left holding its tanks, the Soviet leadership now has the old familiar imperial credibility problem. Soviet control of its satellites depends on Moscow's uncontested arbitration of rivalries within the leadership of the ruling party apparatus. That such rivalries should burst into the open, that they should be settled through public debate and democratic voting in the Party is absolutely intolerable. Moscow needs to reassure its faithful clients everywhere—to start with, in Czechoslovakia—that it will stop at nothing to protect them.

What is expected now is a shift from obvious outside pressure to more mysterious inside sabotage. The secret police—whose careers are at stake—will be highly motivated to play their repertory of dirty tricks. Bankruptcy and food shortages are already conveniently at hand to isolate, starve and infuriate the population.

The late March anticlimax also put strains on Solidarity. After the central committee agreed to stay on the "renewal" course, the Solidarity leadership headed by Lech Walesa and Andrzej Gwiazda accepted a compromise with the government which they had to ram down the throats of the rest of the organization. Rulewski angrily accused Walesa

of "selling out." Militants had spent a week printing leaflets, putting aside provisions, organizing factory teams in preparation for the general strike. Emotionally and practically worked up for a showdown, they felt let down when it was called off. Many naturally felt, with some reason, that their enemies are sure to create yet another crisis, and that next time such a resolute mass mobilization,

with such broad public support, may not be possible. It defies the laws of social dynamics for a new, inexperienced organization of millions of people to be pitched back and forth between emergency alarms and calls for restraint without starting to shake apart. So far, Solidarity has weathered the cycle with extraordinary resiliency, but worse troubles probably lie just ahead.



Prime minister Jaruzelski

of propaganda. Once again, Walesa's reasonableness undercut the Moscow line that "anti-socialist" agents were deliberately stirring up trouble to attack the Party and the system. After examining official accounts of what happened at Bydgoszcz, the prestigious independent reflection group "Experience and Future" (DIP) issued a statement signed

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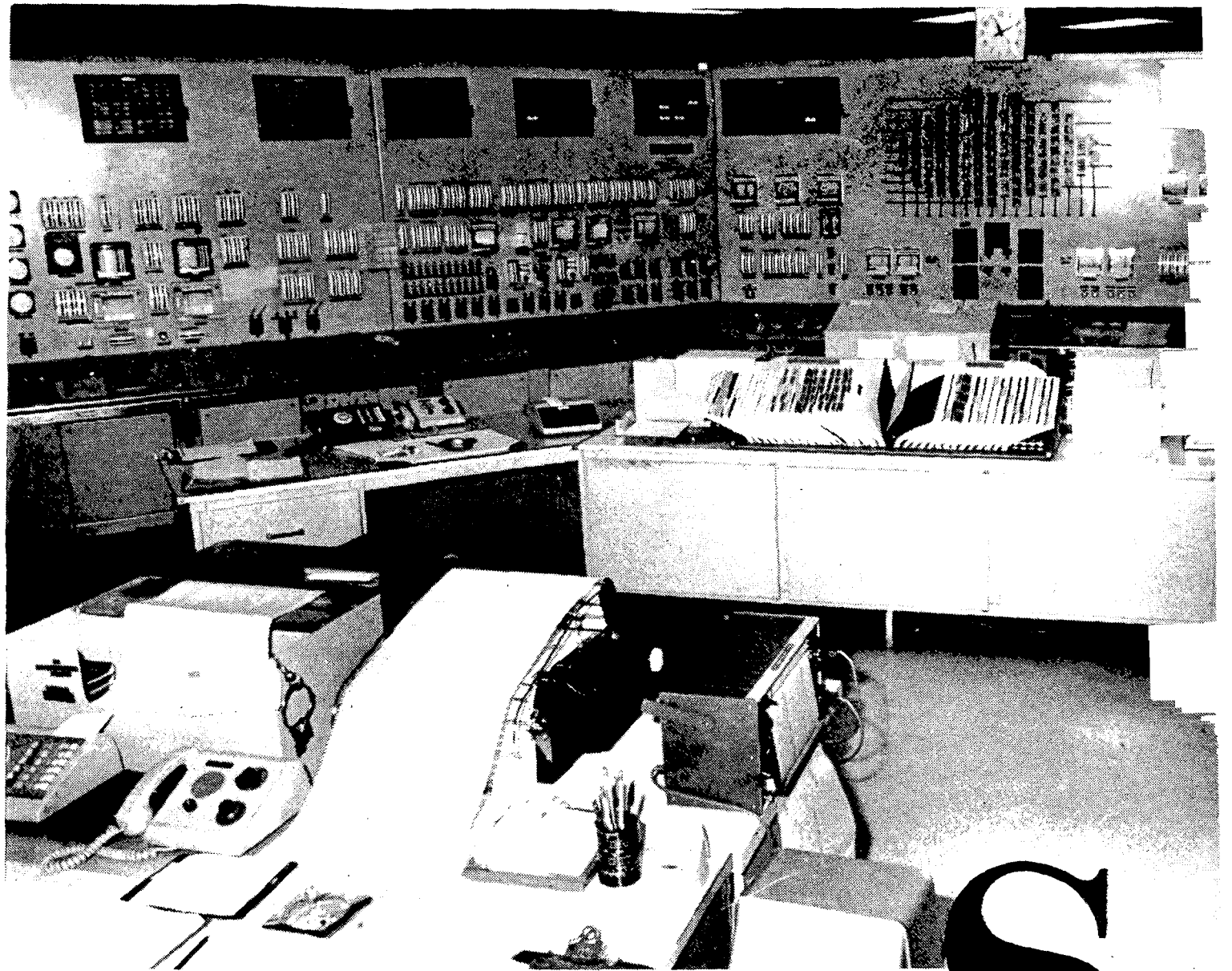


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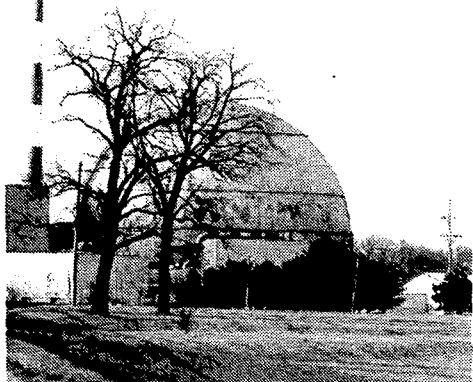
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The Mischief S y

Labor-management tensions in nuclear plants are everyone wants to ignore.



Shortly before dawn in the control room of a nuclear power plant, three operators huddled over the center desk page casually through a worn-out issue of HUSTLER magazine. At the control panel, two other operators sleep soundly, their feet perched high atop an instrument cabinet, oblivious to the blinking lights and routine alarms around them.

Without warning the Shift Technical Advisor—that chic new engineer created in the aftermath of Three Mile Island—enters the room. The three men in the center glance at him, start slightly, and return to their magazine. The advisor walks nervously up to one of the sleeping operators, taps him on the shoulder, and—using the tips he'd gained from a company course on management effectiveness—remarks timidly, "You know, to make work here more enjoyable, gain respect from others and possibly receive better raises, taking a concerned attitude toward your job would be the way to go."

"Stick it in your ear!" responds the annoyed operator as he repositions himself and drifts back to sleep.

As a nuclear engineer employed in a nuclear power plant, this is a scene I once thought would be found only in the fiction of a bad dream. The dream would begin with a nuclear accident in Harrisburg, Pa., bearing a national price tag of nearly a trillion dollars. Thousands of regulators, policy makers and manufacturers would then descend on the scene and scurry around the

damaged reactor with notebooks and clipboards. After months of careful deliberation they would assemble in a big room and announce their unanimous conclusion. "For the most part," they would say, "this accident was caused by human error."

Then a spokesman for industry would rise with a prepared statement. In one of those odd transformations often found in dreams, he would change himself into the spokesman for government and announce, "If man goofed, it must be the machine's fault. The machine is out of control!"

The whole assembly would applaud, including the anti-nuke and consumer advocates in the back of the room. After seating himself, the government spokesman would wipe his brow and whisper to his industry alter-ego, "Whew! That was a close one."

A whole new safety program would then emerge from the ruins of the Harrisburg accident. Under a watchful eye, engineers with Ph.D.s would be sent to the control rooms of nuclear plants across the country to redesign the "man-machine interface." A button on the left side of the reactor's control panel would be moved to the right side. A new chart, measuring new parameters, would be installed with bright colors for workers to see. New buzzers and alarms, more pleasing to the ear, would be placed on strategic instruments. The new program would be called "human factors" engineering, reflecting the hope that, with these changes, human error would soon be a thing of the past.

After all these "human factors" adjustments had been implemented, a new super-engineer would be detailed to monitor each reactor's control room operations night and day. A sign on his desk, painted by the nuclear industry, would read "Shift Technical Advisor: Incapable of Human Error." This 20th-century Dr. Spock would be placed in a glass case where he could only watch, and not interfere with workers running the plant.

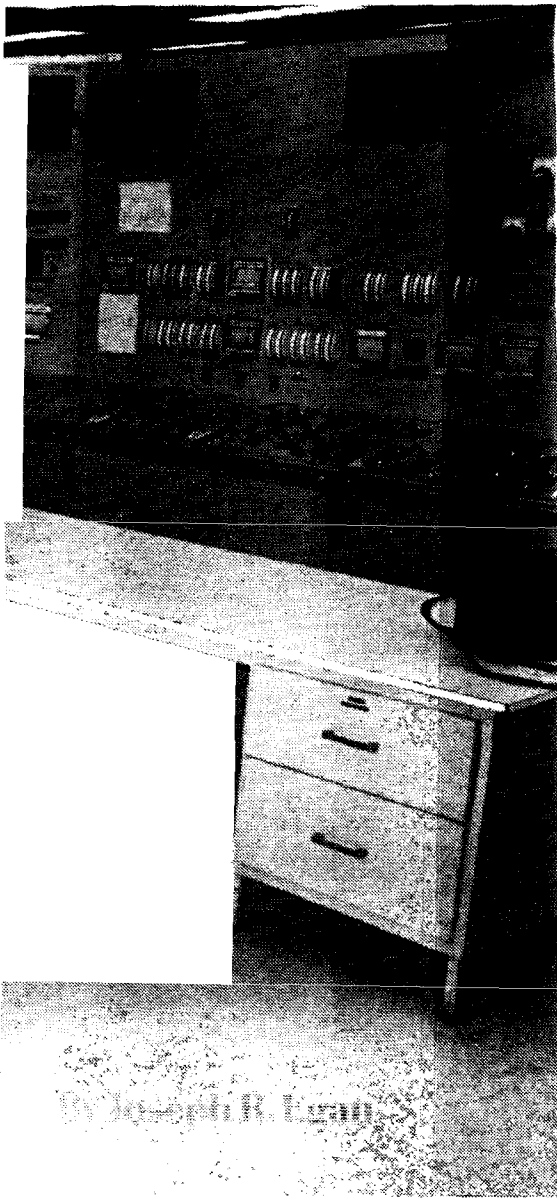
As the dream progressed, I would finally arrive at that scene with the two sleeping operators and the impotent Shift Technical Advisor tapping one of them on the shoulder. Then I would wake up.

The facts of life.

In reality, this scene and others like it are the facts of nuclear plant life. The Nuclear Regulatory Commission recently levied a \$40,000 fine against Commonwealth Edison's Dresden Nuclear Station in Morris, Ill., when a resident inspector found two out of four reactor operators sleeping on the job. In the same control room weeks later, radioactive steam was inadvertently discharged into the air over the Dresden parking lot (for the second time). Weeks earlier, 350,000 gallons of radioactive water were found to be "missing" due to an accounting error. In December 1980 a container of radioactive waste was shipped from Dresden to Hanford, Wash., without the lid bolted down. And on the evening of March 4 one worker at Dresden received a radiation dose of 21 rem in two minutes—more than 200 times the dosage received by any member of the public as a result of the Harrisburg accident.

Two years after Three Mile Island, human problems continue to plague nuclear plants despite massive efforts by industry and government to counteract human error by redesigning machinery. Equipped with new and sophisticated gadgetry, nuclear plants are back to business as usual, and the continuing discussion of Three Mile Island is limited to questions of whether or not new regulations proposed after the accident are excessive.

Absent from the debate and from the voluminous studies following the accident is the simple question, "What *really* causes human error?" Absent is the issue that should be at the center of the nuclear power debate—labor-management relations. Can a nuclear plant ever be operated safely in an environment where conflict is the norm, and where the very technology must be designed to side-



Lorel Delavigne/Picture Group

the "human factor"

step labor-management antagonisms?

"It's a question that came up in casual conversation after Three Mile Island," I was told by a leading spokesman of the Electric Power Research Institute's new Nuclear Safety Analysis Center. "Questions like 'Why was discipline lax; why weren't procedures followed; and why were human errors made?' can have answers," he said, "that range from 'inadvertent carelessness' to 'casual mischief' to 'industrial sabotage.'" While industrial sabotage was ruled out at the start, he noted that "casual mischief" was indeed an important factor in the accident. It's a factor the industry would rather keep behind closed doors.

Underlying "casual mischief" are the very issues that the nuclear industry had hoped to bypass. These are issues like who decides what will be produced and how; who decides what is dangerous; whether production should be under private or public control; or how to resolve the contradiction of producing both for private and social need. Rather, as Ralph Waldo Emerson noted at the height of the industrial revolution, "Things are in the saddle and ride mankind." By focusing on the perils of technology itself, the "human factors" debate draws on the notion that, with proper effort, technology can be subdued, with mankind back in the saddle.

Less than two months after Three Mile Island, the nuclear industry began a major campaign to "combat human error in nuclear plants." The American Nuclear Society promptly added a human factors division to its roster of technical study groups. Professional resumes began to appear with headings titled "human factors engineer." Universities, whose perceived objectivity became a crucial element of the industrial campaign, were quick to hop on the human factor bandwagon. Professors who have never spent a day in an operating reactor began to churn out papers on the "man-machine interface." Human factors, it seemed, was an idea whose time had come.

But for all of its allegedly human em-

phasis, the human factors campaign was met with skepticism on the shopfloor. On the inside, there was something comical about professors and bureaucrats and consultants entering the control room for the first time to tell nuclear plant workers why they've been making mistakes all these years. Nobody bothered to ask workers what was behind human error. Had they done so, they might have discovered that inside nuclear plants another set of truly human factors—these related to the human/human interface—are the real force behind human error.

The control room scene described above, for example, reflects a few of those factors that have nothing at all to do with the machine.

- Plant duties are rigidly divided into hand (union) and mind (engineering) functions by thousands of written procedures and work rules. (see box)

- Strong antagonisms between engineers, union workers and management officials undermine these rules and procedures. Social conflicts often determine the way the rules themselves are written, or the way specific technologies are designed.

- Because of careful bargaining for specific work responsibilities, unions frequently have more authority over plant operations than station managers.

- Engineers (the managers at the production level) have no authority over plant operators because they are not unionized. Yet their knowledge is critical to the safe operation of the plant.

- Many of the efforts since Three Mile Island to make nuclear plants safer will make the plants less safe by intensifying union-management conflicts.

These issues relate to the social structure, not the mechanical structure, of nuclear plants. The carelessness, sloppiness of operations and neglect of both occupational and public safety that occur (and occur often) are more often the result of employee attitudes than of defects in the machine or the regulatory structure. The latter deficiencies could be cured by a little money flowing in the right places. The former are a more serious threat.

A conspiracy of avoidance.

The irony of all this emphasis on the machine is that anti-nuclear groups have played along. I was recently reminded by an editor of a prominent left periodical that "while the human factor (or the labor factor) is of course one place where the nuclear safety valve can come undone, the real danger of these plants lies in the technology that produces the energy." To the nuclear industry, it's an argument that must sound familiar, avoiding issues that, even for the anti-nukers, hit dangerously close to home. If the problem is simply one of technology, then "no nukes" is the simple technical fix. But "no nukes" is not a challenge to well-paid, clever engineers who can explain that even if machines aren't safe, they can be made safe.

For pro- and anti-nukers alike, the issue that should form the core of the nuclear power debate—the labor-management structure of production—is not even on the agenda. "Casual mischief"—a product of basic contradictions in the American production system—has been dismissed with the old adage, "boys will be boys." Two years ago a reactor core almost melted down. Now the editor of *Time* has cautioned us against continued "nuclear hysteria," and a new administration has opened all stops on nuclear development. The nuclear industry is once again happy and the anti-nukers are back in business. And Three Mile Island may well turn out to be a four-leaf clover for other dangerous technological industries—"human factors" arguments are too successful to be confined to the nuclear industry. Hidden behind the uncontested knobs and buttons of the human factors engineers are the seeds of a new anti-labor movement. Once people are convinced that the only way to make a dangerous technology safe is to design workers out of a job, word is sure to reach Wall Street.

©Joseph R. Egan

Joseph R. Egan is a station-certified nuclear engineer who has worked at the Dresden nuclear plant in Morris, Ill.

Like other production technologies, nuclear plants are organized in a three-tiered structure of managers, engineers and union workers. Though often regarded as managers, engineers are really no more than union workers without a union. They lack the authority to sign their own paperwork, are paid by the hour (often below the union pay scales) and have no more autonomy in performing their jobs than union workers. (At Commonwealth Edison, for example, they are prohibited from attending meetings of their own technical societies without first filing a written request with company officials.)

Routine duties that keep the plant operating are divided between engineers, who often reside in a separate building outside the plant, and union workers. The union staff includes reactor operators, nuclear fuel handlers, radiation protection technicians, instrument mechanics, maintenance men, and others. Job responsibilities are fragmented into detailed procedures that are written by station managers in thousands of work rules. Work assigned to one union group may not be performed by another union group. More important, work assigned to engineers may not be performed by union workers and vice versa.

Interpreting the many work rules is a complex and arduous task. Many of the rules that relate to the same job contradict each other. Others are outdated. Most are poorly written and subject to more than one interpretation. Lines of authority between groups of workers for a specific task are rarely well-defined. As a result, a vague form of common law develops between the various groups, enforced by the strength of individual or group personalities. In this law, psychology counts more than ability, seniority more than performance, and intimidation more than managerial authority. Violations of the many work rules or infringements on the assigned territory of

another group can and do lead to grievances, fines, and citations by the Nuclear Regulatory Commission.

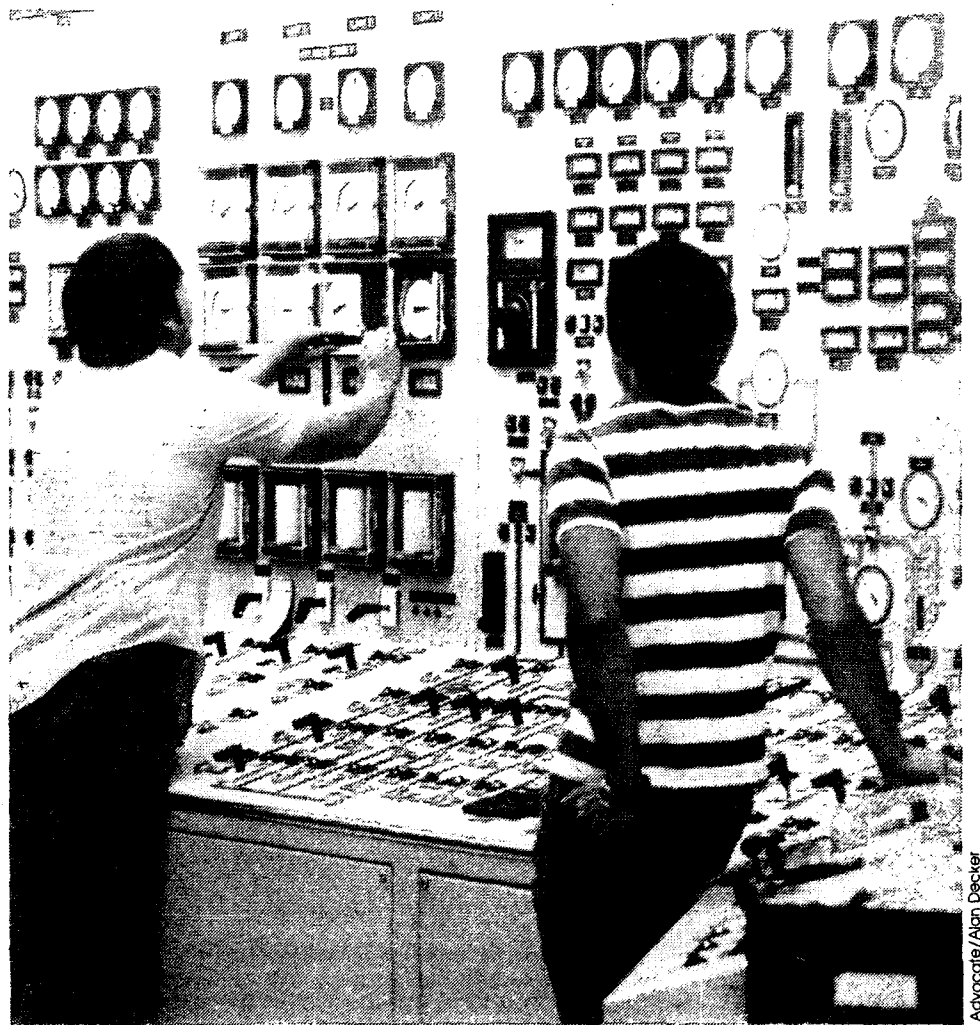
"Work" in a nuclear plant is performed by union workers. "Advice" is given by engineers. Reactor operators, for example, regularly change the power level of the reactor by moving control rods in or out of the reactor's nuclear fuel. Nuclear engineers, however, advise them where these control rods should be positioned or how much the power should be changed to keep the reactor safe.

Engineers literally cannot touch the instrumentation, equipment and controls that keep the plant operating.

If, for example, an engineer discovers that an instrument has drifted out of calibration, automatically stopping routine maneuvers, he knows that the reactor is in an undesirable state that can lead to overheating of the core if prolonged. But the only thing he can do is phone the on-call instrument mechanic, who may arrive an hour later to rotate a single screw on the instrument a half-turn, a function that the engineer or operator could have performed in seconds. Nor can he, in the meantime, check the temperature of the reactor core, since that is done with a device he is not allowed to operate, though he is highly familiar with its operation. Instead, he must convince an operator who is not already occupied to operate the instrument. Depending on his prior social relationship with the engineer, the operator, if available, may or may not oblige him at that particular moment.

Union workers, on the other hand, have little or no access to administrative and technical information necessary for the operation of the plant. Parts of the plant's computer (which monitors critical parameters in the nuclear fuel) are kept under lock and key, accessible only to engineers. Training for union workers is restricted to that necessary for the specific function for which they were assigned. Procedural changes resulting from new regulations or new machinery are made with virtually no input from the union, even though union workers will be implementing the new procedures.

Nuclear plants cannot be safely or efficiently operated without integration of hand and mind, cooperation between workers and engineers. It is precisely this integration and cooperation that is impossible to achieve in the present labor-management structures. —J.R.E.



Advocate/Alan Decker

LETTERS

IN THESE TIMES is an independent newspaper committed to democratic pluralism and to helping build a popular movement for socialism in the United States. Our pages are open to a wide range of views on the left, both socialist and non-socialist. Except for editorial statements appearing on the editorial page, opinions expressed in columns and in feature or news stories are those of the author and are not necessarily those of the editors. We welcome comments and opinion pieces from our readers.

UNDERNOURISHED

BEING A STUDENT OF IMPERIALIST AFFAIRS, it was with great interest that I read David Ost, a student of Soviet-Polish affairs.

Three weeks in Poland and not one insight that the *New York Post* hasn't already droned out two times daily, seven times per week.

Oh to have instead read, after three weeks in Poland, a report by Avro Manhattan or even Paul Blanchard. In a nutshell, either Ost is off the nipple too early or he's something else again!

—Marvin Stern
New York City

SO THAT'S WHAT DID IT!

CONGRATULATIONS ON PUBLISHING Robert Howard's excellent articles on automation and health and safety issues as workers confront them. It's about time the socialist press dealt seriously with "the relations of production"—wasn't that supposed to be our concern all along?

You should also not be too quick to sweep under the carpet the critical questions raised by David Noble on the German Marshall Fund and the Eurosocialism conference (Letters, *ITT*, Feb. 4). We ought seriously to wonder why the Marshall Fund is investing on the left. We ought also to ask: Is social democracy an adequate politics for the American left? Are moderation and respectability always the most important goals? Is "rational economic planning" the phrase that will open the ears and the hearts of our people, and bring them into the streets (or even into the voting booths)?

I've heard a lot of working people say that this country needs a revolution. I've never heard anyone but leftists say we need a planned economy. The left will never build a mass movement for change until it learns to understand and address the deep frustrations and "hidden injuries" of the working class in America.

I am not encouraged by the calm self-certainty of the leaders and writers of the moderate left. It is all too easy to come up with an overview of society's crisis, and a facile prescription for change. It also seems to be all too easy to let it go to one's head when a top un-

ion official says a kind word for democratic socialism.

The contradictions of capitalism are all coming home to roost, not just the "economic" ones. The American left faces, in the near future, unprecedented opportunities and unprecedented problems. Let's not be dragged down by the same kind of elitism and smugness that undid the liberals.

Movements like ours are, according to Marx, supposed to "criticize themselves constantly, interrupt themselves continually...[and] deride with unmerciful thoroughness...[their own] inadequacies and weaknesses...." It's very dangerous for us to forget about things like that.

—Al Hart
Erie, Pa.

HORSERACING

AS A CHARTER SUBSCRIBER, I AM aware that you have often been under attack from readers for failure to do justice to the feminist dimension of our social problems. So I can understand your willingness to print something as bad as Ann Jones' (*ITT*, April 1) tantrum—masquerading as serious analysis. But to feature it on the front cover! Can that be responsible journalism? Does it mean you support the ranting?

—Louis Cohn-Haff
Holyoke, Mass.

OMISSIONS

BY DELETING A FEW KEY PARAGRAPHS from my contribution to the Dialog on anti-Semitism (*ITT*, April 1) you changed my emphasis from being critical of your editorial to sounding grateful for your support. (I assume this was done due to space problems.)

In addition to what you printed I wrote among other things: "Any critique of Jewish political behavior that does not take into account the fears of Jews and the actual vulnerability of Jews and Israel will be incomplete and in some respects anti-Semitic because it ultimately blames Jews for the responses they have made to try to survive in a world which has repeatedly manipulated their leaderships to align with the ruling interests...in the hopes of gaining [temporary] refuge for the entire community."

Originally my piece ended by appreciating your support of progressive Jews and New Jewish Agenda, but also

concluded: "Let us not forget that Jews today, as a people, are still struggling under the yoke of a particular Jewish oppression which takes many blatant and subtle forms...."

—Donny Perlestein
Editor, *genesis 2*
Boston, Mass.

EXEMPLARY

IN THE "BILLBOARD" SECTION OF THE current issue of *ITT* you show a cigarette pack with one cigarette on top of it and the caption "Cancer. Experience it!"

I would like to point out to you that a cause-and-effect relationship between the chemical elements of cigarette smoke, including the chemical additives, and cancer of the lung has never been established. This is the argument of the tobacco industry *corporados*. It follows, then, that there is no connection whatsoever between the lead in a bullet, the chemical composition of gunpowder and the massive cerebral hemorrhaging that follows a head wound, such as the one Jim Brady suffered a few days ago in Washington!

Of all the noxious businesses in America, the tobacco industry is number one. Not only do they profit from the addiction of people to nicotine, from a vice, but they are also killing their best customers and lying about it! In the spirit of the times, I propose that the federal government cut all subsidies to tobacco growers and the tobacco industry, that the industry be nationalized and that its profits be turned to a good cause: cancer, emphysema and cardiovascular research.

People will continue to smoke, so let them invest in their own cure. I quit smoking cigarettes 10 years ago. Living in L.A. and breathing that air was dangerous enough.

—Art Liebrez
Corte Madera, Calif.

NO FANTASY

THE MARCH 4 ISSUE OF *ITT* ESCAPED my attention and I read it only now. It is particularly good, full of interesting articles and information. Among other things I loved David Helvarg's "Shocking revelations of foreign arms!" [in El Salvador].

But I am unhappy about some of the "other ways to cut the budget" by John Judis and David Moberg. Most of their proposals are fine, except when it comes to military expenditures. Why stop with the MX, the anti-ballistic missiles and four other "unnecessary" and "uneconomical" weapons and general Defense Department waste? I don't think it is "indulging in political fantasies" to consider *all* nuclear weapons environmentally, militarily and economically dangerous. At any rate, no more of a fantasy than proposing that the multinational corporations give up their tax subsidies. But for you to propose that "the U.S. should rely on its submarine-based missiles...for survival against a Soviet counterforce strike" is shocking!

As long as we believe the fairy-tale of the danger of a Soviet missile attack that can be averted only by being armed ourselves with nuclear weapons we won't be able to stop the insane arms race!

—Leonore Velfort
Oakland, Calif.

THWARTED

I TURNED TO ROBERT SCHAEFFER'S REVIEW of Tess, Roman Polanski's movie version of *Tess of the D'Urbervilles* by Thomas Hardy (*In These Times*, March 18), hoping to read the criticism of this anti-feminist movie that it so richly deserves. Instead I discovered that Schaeffer was so blinded by Nastassia Kinski's (Tess) beauty and his own desire to see a commentary on "the nature of class," that he failed to see the gross treatment that Polanski gave a truly great feminine literary heroine.

The Tess that Hardy created back in 1791 was a strong, enduring woman. Somewhat innocent at first, she learns a great deal through the devastating exper-

iences which she endures at the hand of her lovers, her family and her society.

Certainly, by the end of the novel she has far better command of the English language than Kinski ever does. Polanski—and regrettably I think Schaeffer, too—were so taken by the beauty of her full lips that they did not realize how ridiculous it was for her to sound far less articulate (and expressive) than either her husband or her lover. What a low learning curve, to have spent so much time in the upper classes and not have improved her English!

Secondly, Kinski's Tess apparently is unaffected physically by her laboring in the infertile fields all winter. This romantic beauty has young, delicate hands, a Bonnie Bell rosy complexion and sexually attractive clothes throughout.

In the novel, her experiences in the fields toughen her both physically and mentally. Polanski's Tess is not affected by anything. This is a serious disservice to Hardy, who had a vision of a beautiful woman whose story was tragic because she was complex.

—Leslie Whitaker
Philadelphia

PRIMER

THERE IS NO GREATER EVIL THAN Communism." We must learn these words again. Repeat them over and over until they bleed into our bones. "There is no greater evil than Communism." Repeat it until we are walking robots, willing to sacrifice our own children again. "There is no greater evil than Communism."

Forget Vietnam.

Forget disarmament.

Fuck peace.

No one wants to make the world safe for democracy anymore. Not one single democratically elected official runs El Salvador today. El Salvador, under the watchful guidance of the United States and our Monroe Doctrine, never gave its people a chance for democracy. There have always been more important things—like stopping Communism.

We must prepare; time rushes us into a brave new world. The government officials in El Salvador responsible for the brutal rape and murder of American nuns can only stay in power with our help. Our money. Our weapons. Our children.

Let us keep the world safe for friendly dictatorships, juntas, and military death squads. And above all, let us never forget: "There is no greater evil than Communism."

—C. Cameron
Coral Gables, Fla.

THEY REALLY BELIEVE IT

JOHN JUDIS' STATEMENT IN "THE RETURN of the Red Menace" (*ITT*, March 11) that "the right is trying to revive simple-minded anti-communism at home and abroad" seems a misunderstanding of the motives behind the rhetoric. Judis implies that reviving the old red scare is a tool in a broader strategy, such as to reclaim legitimacy for U.S. domination of world finances. This goal is no doubt easily seen in American ruling circles, especially within corporate and banking empires. But I think you underestimate the deeply felt anxieties conveyed by recent foreign policy pronouncements from the top levels of the Reagan government.

The similarities of these feelings of being threatened by a monolithic communist conspiracy with the fundamentalist fears that the Devil is forever scheming to exploit sinfulness to recruit his servants, or "proxies," is highly revealing of the sincerity of the neo-conservative paranoia.

—Howard Garrett
Friday Harbor, Wash.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we may have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

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DIALOG

Do American Jews have to be concerned about a new Holocaust?

The following letters are in response to an editorial, "Anti-Semitism and the left," that appeared March 4. Two weeks ago we published three earlier responses. These three are edited down from the originals.



By Karen Lindsey

I WAS GLAD TO SEE YOUR EDITORIAL, "Anti-Semitism and the left" (ITT, March 4). Anti-Semitism is an issue that the left all too often ignores. I am, however, disturbed by parts of it. I think, like many post-Holocaust American leftists, you fail to see the extent of anti-Semitism in this and other countries, both present and past. And, though you tell us that there are leftist Jews who oppose the right and who criticize Begin's policies in Israel, you go on to lump all Jews together. "Jews," like women, black people, homosexuals, etc., are not a monolith, and it plays into the hands of the power structure to act as though any oppressed people function that way. (As a feminist, of course, I see this all the time in terms of women: "Women are turning away from women's lib" or "Women are liberated so now they don't mind wearing spiked heels" bullshit.)

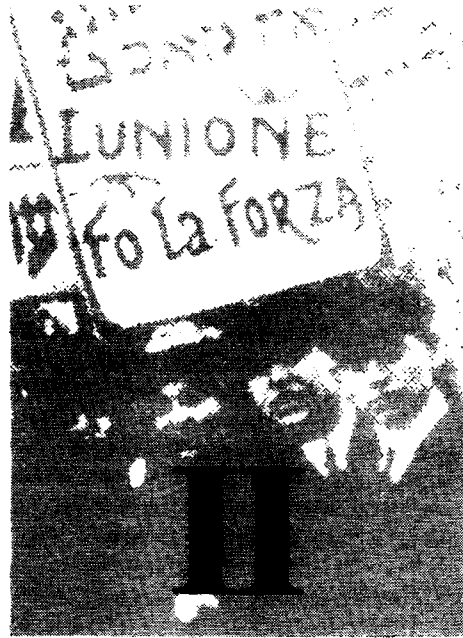
"...The close public identification of Jews with the attitudes and actions of the Israeli government have driven a wedge between the Jewish community and blacks, Hispanics and others." The naïveté of that statement, coming from a political magazine, is horrifying. What is driving a wedge between the Jewish community and other oppressed people is a power structure shrewd enough to know that dividing oppressed peoples is one of the most useful tools of oppression in history. It's been done with Jews since at least the Middle Ages, when the "court Jew" was used as a tax collector so that the enraged peasantry would turn its wrath on the ghetto.

Also horrifying is your downplaying of the Holocaust. Anti-Semitism in Germany was more than "a major part of the Nazis' campaign against the liberalism...of the Weimar republic." Other groups certainly suffered hideously under Hitler, but the attack on the Jews was an organized effort to destroy an entire people. Again, a lesson in semantics: the term "genocide" was coined to define the undefinable—Hitler's plan to destroy the world's Jewish population. He came close—six million people, many of whom might have survived had the U.S. and other "democratic" countries lifted quotas to take them in.

Perhaps because of your lack of understanding

of what the Holocaust meant, you fail to see its significance in the U.S. today. "Jews have been integrated in all levels of society and in all of its institutions," you tell us happily. Yes, they have. And they had in pre-Nazi Germany as well. The Jews in Germany had every reason to believe they were safe—as much reason, surely, as Jews in the U.S. have today. I'm not saying we're on the verge of another holocaust here: I am saying we can't dismiss the Holocaust as though it were some far-off, mythical and unrepeatable experience. It happened, and it happened in a culture not too different from U.S. society today.

Finally, though you are right to take to task those spokespeople for Jewish establishments who have uncritically accepted Israel's actions and who have in other ways supported the right, you have failed to balance this by taking to task the large segment of the left that has been, actively or passively, anti-Semitic. In our refusal to acknowledge anti-Semitism, we have tacitly accepted, even promoted it. We have fostered the stereotype of the Jewish landlord, the rich Jew, the Jewish American Princess and the Jewish Momma (the latter two, of course, a perfect marriage of sexism and anti-Semitism). And if, as you point out, many Jews have defected from the left, we need to look a little closer to home than Israel. A lot of women fled the left, too, when we realized our oppression was only being furthered by the "liberators" in our midst. The job of the left is to confront all oppression.



By Edward S. Goldstein

IF WE CANNOT PURSUE LOGICAL clarity and remain true to fact or, at least, openly acknowledge our dissent from accepted definitions of fact in analyzing the Arab-Israeli conflict, there can be little hope of progress toward justice, understanding or peace in the Middle East.

Conceptually, your otherwise cogent editorial "Anti-Semitism and the left" (ITT, March 4) is disappointingly unbalanced and myopic in its conclusion that "the accommodationist tendency in Israel...is the only path to its long-term security and to justice for the Palestinians." Is Israel the sole variable in the conflict? Is there nothing the Arabs ought to do to encourage peace with Israel, an indispensable step for achieving justice both for Jew and Palestinian? It is unrealistic and cruel to expect the long-traumatized Israeli public to support its government in overtures to the PLO until the latter makes clear its abandonment of

violence against civilians—"terrorism" to most people—and its readiness, upon satisfactory conclusion of sensible, wide-ranging negotiations, to live peacefully beside a sovereign, Zionist Israel. ■



By Harvey Feldman, Myron Perlman and Miriam Socoloff for Chutzpah

IN DISCUSSING ANTI-SEMITISM in the U.S., your March 4 editorial makes many errors. First, you state that "Jews have been integrated at all levels of society and in all of its institutions." Wrong. Jews are excluded from the centers of ruling-class power (see F. Lundberg, *Rich and Super-rich* and D. Baltzell, *The Protestant Establishment*) and are not integrated throughout the economy. Jews are markedly absent in management of commercial banks, insurance, public utilities, agribusiness and heavy industries such as auto and steel. We are also underrepresented, though present, in the ranks of the most organized sectors of labor—the same heavy industries. Jewish professionals face discrimination in hiring, especially in the corporate world.

We are concentrated largely in several specific areas. A disproportionate number of Jews are managers or proprietors of—or sales and clerical workers in—small businesses. Many of these are in the manufacture and distribution of certain light consumer goods such as clothing and liquor. The Jewish bourgeoisie is also concentrated in secondary positions in a few specific areas such as real estate, domestic oil, investment banking, and print and broadcast media. Many Jews are in the professions.

The concentration of Jews in these strata makes Jews highly visible as purveyors of goods and services, culture

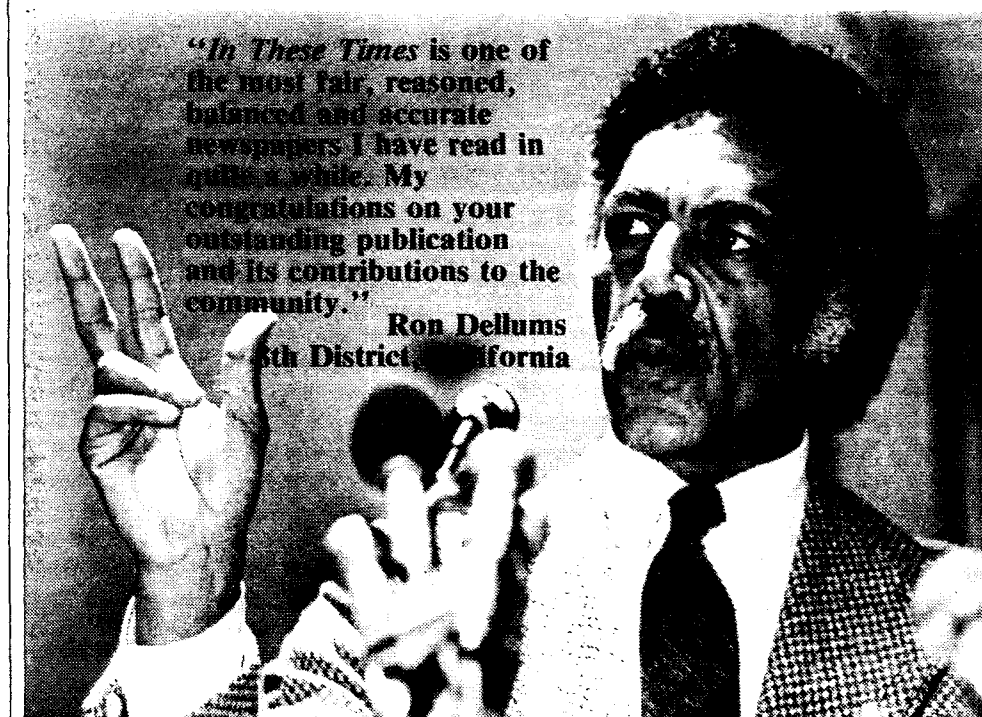
and ideology. These positions are also highly vulnerable during periods of economic contraction. They are threatened during the current decline by the extension of capital concentration into new sectors by the Judenrein corporate oligopolies. This intensifies the competition among small capital for the remainder. Similarly, the competition for professional education and positions is increasing—the source of much tension between Jews and blacks over affirmative action.

Anti-Semitism is an international barometer of capitalist decay. It is currently on the rise in East and West Europe, the Islamic world, Latin America, and the U.S. With capitalism in the U.S. undergoing the crisis you so often describe, such groups as the Klan and Nazis are growing and receiving much free media publicity. Your editorial downplays their activity.

We are not simply "in the pecking order of ethnic oppression...on the order of Poles, Italians, and other Eastern European national groups." Our concentration as a small minority in mediating positions between the major contending groups, and the long history of religiously, culturally and institutionally entrenched anti-Jewish ideology, combine to make us a scapegoat in times of social crisis and economic decline. ■

Editor's reply: (1) We are not "post-Holocaust leftists," though we do try to be youthful. In any case, it is important to understand the past, but not to live in it. In Germany there were no blacks and Hispanics, not to mention Asians or Native Americans. Jews were the most exposed "aliens" in a society that, unlike the United States, had no multi-national or multi-ethnic history. (2) Our statement that the accommodationist tendency in Israel is the only path to its long-term security was made within the context of a discussion of Israeli policy. It was not meant to imply that the Palestinians' attitude toward Israeli sovereignty is not equally important. But the accommodationist tendency among Palestinians can only be cultivated by its counterpart in Israel, not by Begin and his policies. (3) Jews are not equally represented in all walks of life. Neither are Poles or Italians. There are Polish steel workers in abundance, but few Polish garment workers. Poles and Italians (and many other ethnic minorities) are also underrepresented in positions of power.

We do see the Klan and Nazis as marginal, and we do not believe they have the potential to become a major force in American life, though the media often appear to be doing their best to help them along by over-publicizing their activity, much of which is designed primarily to attract media attention.



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Ron Dellums
5th District, California

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IN THESE TIMES

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INPRINT

COMICS

Political theory made simple

Trotsky for Beginners
By Tarik Ali and Phil Evans
Pantheon Books, 173 pp.,
\$2.95 paperback

By Alan Wald

When the exiled Bolshevik Leon Trotsky was assassinated by an agent of Stalin's secret police on Aug. 20, 1940, the art historian Meyer Schapiro wrote the novelist James T. Farrell that "Trotsky represented the last traces of an independent left.... I

istan-born editor of the newspaper *Socialist Challenge* and longtime leader of the International Marxist Group (British section of the Trotskyist Fourth International). The drawings are by Phil Evans, a political cartoonist associated with the British Socialist Workers Party, which sees the Soviet Union as "state capitalist." The book is intended to provide a basic introduction to Trotsky's life and ideas.

The chosen genre suggests that



This drawing opens a chapter on one of Trotsky's basic theories.

regret that I am not a poet or dramatist; I can imagine nothing more stirring than a poem or play about him.... He had a vision, acute sense of reality, courage and absolute integrity. Is there another man in the world like that today?"

This view of Trotsky's attractiveness for artistic depiction has been confirmed many times in the past 40 years. In the '50s Trotsky was featured in a magnificent biography by Isaac Deutscher and a psychological novel by Bernard Wolfe. In the '60s and '70s he was portrayed in an experimental play by Peter Weiss, a potboiler film starring Richard Burton and an impressive book of photographs by Francis Wyndham and David King. Now in the '80s comes the crowning achievement: official communism's most feared heretic has joined the company of Freud, Marx and Einstein as the subject of one of Pantheon's "Documentary Comic Books."

The text is by Tariq Ali, Pak-

Marxism's love-hate relationship with popular culture has resolved itself in a curious way. Marx and Engels drew almost all their models of artistic form from the classics of high culture—especially from works by Dante, Aeschylus and Shakespeare. Contemporary Marxism's *locus classicus* on the theory of mass culture is the scathing indictment contained in Max Horkheimer and Theodor Adorno's 1944 *Dialectic of Enlightenment*. In the chapter on "The Culture Industry," they cite Donald Duck cartoons as an instrument of audience manipulation by an "administered society." However, since the '60s the New Left and countercultural groups have increasingly used comic books to provide popular introductions to imperialism, ecology, sexism, radical history and the lives of revolutionary leaders.

Comic relief.

Paul Buhle's 1972 study "The New Comics and American Cul-



ture" (included in *Literature in Revolution*, edited by George Abbott White and Charles Newman) discusses the subversive potential of the cartoon medium. Popular art forms and disrespectful humor are used to debunk symbols of authority and repression. However, *Trotsky for Beginners* seems tame and sanitized when compared to Buhle's examples drawn from *Hydrogen Bomb Comics*, *Slow Death Funnies* and the feminist magazine *It Ain't Me Babe*.

This is partly because of the conventions imposed by the nature of Pantheon's "Documentary Comic Book" series. The

publisher's intention is to produce a variant of the "Classic Comic Books" for adults, combining education and entertainment. The use of a set pattern of conventions for the narrative of radical history is reminiscent of John Dos Passos' *U.S.A.* trilogy, where the story is told through the devices of "Camera Eye," "Newsreel," biographies and realistic narrative. In this comic book, the authors communicate through photographs, sketches of historical figures, brief cartoon dramatizations, diagrams and charts, quotations from the protagonist and biographers and short paragraphs.

Ali and Evans use these devices with wit and imagination, but the result is hardly a book that will satisfy anyone who has a definite perspective on the topic. The most pressing convention of the form—the necessity of a high degree of selectivity and condensation—has caused deletions that will probably elicit cries of "revisionism" from those who choose to evaluate a comic book as if it were a political manifesto. My own major complaint is the sketchy treatment accorded Trotsky's political activities during his Third Exile—especially in regard to his theory of Soviet development and his insistence that the oncoming World War II was at root an inter-imperialist conflict.

Frank.

On the other hand, the authors demonstrate dexterity in the depiction of complicated events such as the 1917-18 Brest-Litovsk negotiations, and taste in their treatment of difficult epi-

Trotsky is less cartoonish in this comic book than in much left scholarship.

sodes such as the assassination in Coyoacan, Mexico. They also reveal a refreshing frankness in confronting sides of Trotsky that his more rigid adherents would rather ignore—such as the publication of *Our Political Tasks* (a 1904 polemic against Leninist organizational modes) and his arrogant personality. Yet they are unable to circumvent the fact that the comic book format seems mainly effective in summarizing biographical facts and in dramatizing historical episodes. Despite their use of montage and contrasting typefaces to achieve some degree of subtlety, the exposition of theory through this medium seems an almost hopeless task.

Some American Marxists may find it hard to recommend a comic book introduction to Trotsky, even "for beginners." It sometimes seems as if his image is already perceived too often in terms that are two-dimensional and cartoon-like. There is a startling absence of discussion of Trotsky's contribution in most left journals, and much recent scholarship—for example, books on the American left by John Diggins and Constance Ashton Myers—systematically misrepresent his positions.

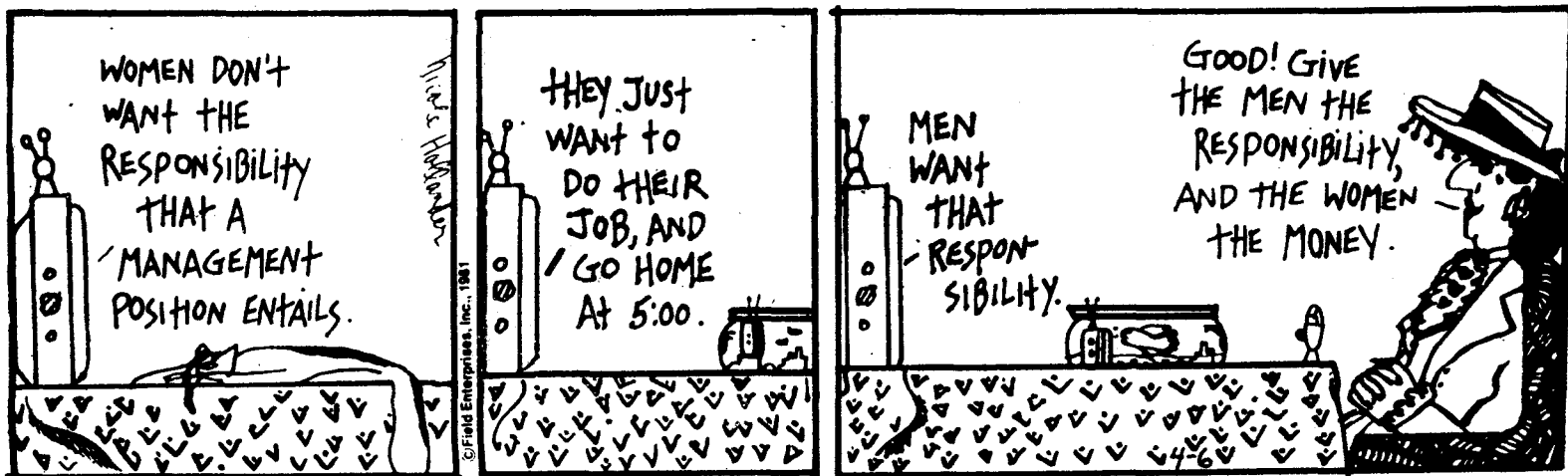
In contrast, Trotsky's theories are seriously debated in outstanding British socialist journals such as *New Left Review* and *Critique*. The salutary effect of a dialogue between the New Left in England and Trotskyism are evidenced in books such as Perry Anderson's *Considerations on Western Marxism* (1976) and *Arguments Within English Marxism* (1980). If *Trotsky for Beginners* can be instrumental in encouraging a comparable trend in the U.S., Ali and Evans' compromises with a difficult medium will have been justified.

Alan Wald is the author of *James T. Farrell: The Revolutionary Socialist Years* and teaches at the University of Michigan.

Look for more episodes of SYLVIA in future issues of IN THESE TIMES.

SYLVIA

by Nicole Hollander



SPORTS

A gladiator awakens

**The Struggle That Must Be:
An Autobiography**

By Harry Edwards, Foreword by
Maya Angelou
Macmillan, 350 pp., \$13.95

By Peter H. Wood

When sociologist Harry Edwards organized a successful football game boycott at San Jose State in 1967, California's Governor Ronald Reagan threatened to call out the National Guard. The next year, when Edwards, a champion discus thrower, encouraged the protest by U.S. black athletes at the Mexico City Olympic Games, his name went into J. Edgar Hoover's special "Rabble Rouser Index," and he was tailed all over the country. No wonder that, when the University of California, Berkeley, hired Edwards in 1970, Governor Reagan stated that he "unequivocally" disapproved.

Reagan and Hoover would surely disapprove of *The Struggle That Must Be*. Harry Edwards has written a wry, stinging account of growing up young, gifted and black—and rock-bottom poor.

Edward speaks much like his role model, Paul Robeson, to whom he devotes an entire chapter. He tells stories and anecdotes, such as his boyhood recollection of Emmett Till's murder, with off-hand intimacy. He exhorts, teaching and preaching in his scholarly but fiery manner of a man who used to slip away from graduate school at Cornell to hear Malcolm X lecture in Harlem.

Edwards' boyhood in East St. Louis evokes memories of Huckleberry Finn. Slipping down to the Mississippi, "we could spend all day running barefoot in the mud, chasing the big gray-brown river rats, exploring the trash washed ashore, and just lying on the sand watching the barges, tugboats and even an occasional paddlewheeler make their way up and down the river." But this is 20th-century fact, not 19th-century fiction, and Edwards is black, not white. Hunger and hatred are so real in the "underfooting" of East St. Louis that Harry envies Lassie and Rintin-Tin: warm, well-fed and accepted by white folks. When, like Huck, he "lights out for the territory," he runs head-on into the racist hypocrisy of big time college athletics. "By the end of my first semester at San Jose State, all illusions of California as a super liberal, interracial promised land had evaporated."

For generations of tough minority kids the boxing ring was what Irving Shulman called the "Square Trap," baited with the lure of wealth and glory. During the Depression Harry Edwards' father stuck his head through the ropes and "was always just one fight, just one knockout punch away from becoming another Joe Louis and establishing permanent residence on Easy Street."

Instead, Edwards' father ends up as a day laborer in a chemical factory and a minor cog in the East St. Louis Democratic machine. In the best American ethnic tradition, he transfers the full weight of his frustrated ambition to his son. When white

doctors express awe at the husky body of five-year-old Harry Edwards, his father brings home a pair of boxing gloves, and as the boy matures into a huge young man, the dream grows too.

But this book is no bound-for-greatness athletic memoir. His proudest moments occur near, but not in, the game of basketball. For example, he recalls silencing a team meeting at mostly white East Side High by bluntly asking a returning letterman from the University of Mississippi, "How come there ain't no Negro football players on the Old Miss team?"

Edwards, whose earlier books include *The Sociology of Sport* and *The Revolt of the Black Athlete*, believes that minority athletes entering big-time sports are approaching a "minefield," a "treadmill" and a "cruel and wickedly subtle trap." Fewer than 2,000 blacks currently earn a living in major professional sports, but many more squander their best years aspiring to be "20th-century gladiators." In-

stead, says Edwards, they should be nailing down an education.

The climactic moment in Edwards' own career took place in the library of Fresno City College shortly before his first history exam. In high school he had done nothing, "which was easy because that is exactly what virtually everyone expected from blacks academically—nothing." Now the 6'8", 240 pound freshman broke down and cried with frustration at not being able to read and memorize his history text fast enough. Suddenly he was struck by the realization that this book and every other one contained a point of view, a set of judgments behind the facade of facts. "I had learned to read critically," Edwards exalts in a moving description, and ever since he has been using his mind as aggressively as his father once used his fists.

Edwards' book makes you want to work on your social ideals as well as your jump shot. Not since the young West Indian athlete-historian C.L.R. James



Harry Edwards (above) argues that many colleges lead black athletes into a cruel trap.

began writing cricket commentary for the *Manchester Guardian* more than half a century ago has there been a sports participant observer with the same combination of physical talent,

critical intelligence and progressive politics.

Historian Peter Wood recently co-edited an issue of *Southern Exposure* entitled "Through the Hoop: Sports in the South."

NOTEBOOK

A Radical Hagada

By Marcia Prager of Hagada Project, P.O. Box 340, E. Setauket, L.I., NY 11733 (516) 751-5605. \$2

This Passover Hagada (narration) reinterprets the 3000-year-old story of Jewish liberation from slavery in ancient Egypt. This version takes the event—the winning of Jewish freedom—out of God's hands. Credit goes to Jewish women, Moses' mother in particular, who raised the socially conscious children who grew up to be militant leaders. Grass-roots "civil disturbances," not plagues,

were what finally brought Pharaoh to his knees. Movingly integrated into this traditional tale are the Shirtwaist Makers Strike heroines and the Jewish heroes of the Warsaw ghetto uprising. **DZ**

Circle of Poison

by David Weir and Mark Schapiro, Institute for Food and Development Policy 2588 Mission St., San Francisco, CA 94110

100 pp., \$3.95 plus 10% postage and handling Banned in the U.S. yet shipped all over the world, dangerous pesticides like DDT

and worse have been finding their way into the food chain for years. This book explores the dumping of chemicals in Third World countries, and documents the boomerang effect of chemical-tainted foods (like coffee) being imported back into the U.S.

Circle of Poison debunks the chemical companies' claim that "pesticides help feed a hungry world," since many of the countries that use the chemicals export the bulk of their crops, as much as 70 percent in Central America, and massive quantities of pesticides are used to insure a "perfect," blemish-free product. The effective use of pesticides often requires greater concentrations of land and capital than most Third World farmers have, so to increase production,

small farms are absorbed by large ones that use high technology and pesticides. Greater yields do not guarantee distribution to the displaced farmers. For example, farmers in the Philippines quadrupled their rice production between 1972 and 1978 using "Green Revolution" practices, yet less people worked and more went hungry.

On Feb. 17, President Reagan revoked Carter's executive order tightening controls over the export of hazardous materials, including pesticides. But the authors hope that public activism can encourage Reagan to develop a responsible export program. *Circle of Poison* provides strategies of grassroots activism to fight dumping. **AP**
Contributors: Allan Pearlman, Debbie Zucker.

First Step to the Pits?
Into Reaganland

A lively bunch of short pieces by Robert Lekachman, Michael Walzer, Thomas B. Edsall, Roger Wilkins, James Sleeper, Joseph Clark, Bernard Rosenberg, Luther Carpenter, Howard Weiner, and others on prospects for the Reagan-run economy; the panacea of supply-side economics; the chilling effect of Reagan's victory on Blacks; the rightward turn of the next Congress; the growing troubles of the unions; Ed Koch as spirit of the times; the chimera of "Urban Enterprise Zones," etc., etc.

BREAKING FAITH
Commentary and the American Jews
Bernard Avishai

The Spring/1981 issue of **Dissent** brings a déjà vu look into the Reagan administration by some well-known demand-side observers. **Also** some lively reviews and articles: *Naming Names*, by Murray Hausknecht; *Equal Opportunity* and "The Race of Life", by Isaac Kramnick; *From Holocaust to "Holocaust"*, by Claude Lanzmann; *The Corruptions of Science*, by Gerald Cavanaugh; *The Ambiguous Legacy of Eduard Bernstein*, by Henry Pachter.

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FILM

The Jewish cultures of pre-war Poland

By Victor Treschan

An excellent 90-minute documentary, *Image before my Eyes*, dealing with the life of the Jewish community in Poland between the turn of the century and the eve of World War II opened in New York during the third week of March and will be followed by showings in Los Angeles in late April, Detroit in May and probably in Poland in June. The film is based on a previous photographic exhibition mounted in New York by the YIVO Institute for Jewish Research, devoted to the preservation of Eastern European Jewish culture.

In 1939 the Jewish community of Poland numbered 3.5 million people, and constituted about 10 percent of the total population of Poland. Only 250,000 Polish Jews survived the war. Through the use of photographs, old home movies, records, posters and interviews with survivors residing in New York, the film describes a complex community divided into different social classes, with each group relating to a separate cultural framework.

The narrator explains the social, economic and cultural background of the community, which through its history was mainly an urban population, living in small towns called *shtetls*, in a predominantly rural Polish society. Jews spoke their own language, Yiddish, wore traditional clothing and observed Jewish religious law. They constituted virtually a separate nation.

Following the creation of the independent Polish state after the Versailles Conference, Jews increasingly left the *shtetl* and settled in the major cities of Poland. Jews started to speak Polish, and to change their outward appearance. A Jewish bourgeoisie emerged in finance and industry. Some defined themselves as a religious denomination—"Polish of Jewish Faith."

Among the Jewish working class a completely different phenomenon was taking place—the creation of a Jewish revolutionary culture. The best moments in the film deal with the recreation



A rally of the Bund, led (left) by one of those interviewed in the film.

of the life and struggles of the Jewish socialist movement: the Bund. This was a movement originally created by intellectuals in order to organize and propagate socialism among Jewish workers.

The Bund (which, incidentally, formed the YIVO Institute in 1925) was the first Jewish organization to organize the Jewish working class. The film recalls the Bund's extensive network of schools, libraries, summer camps and scientific institutions.

Other groups in the Jewish community espoused different ideologies—Hassidim, Neo-Orthodox, Zionists—each created a similar network of institutions. One of the most interesting of these institutions was the *kibbutzim*, or agricultural training settlements established by the Labor Zionists to prepare young Jews for their future life in Palestine. In these *kibbutzim*, young men and women took the most menial jobs, preparing themselves to restructure Jewish occupational life in Palestine.

Each of these groups offered a particular answer to the Jewish future in Poland. Passionate Marxists, the Bundists struggled for the realization of socialism,

The Bund, the first Jewish working-class organization, set up libraries, schools and summer camps.

and for cultural and national autonomy for the Jewish people in Poland. For the Zionists, the dream was mass migration to Palestine. The *Hassidim* found their answer in loyalty to their *rebbe*, a charismatic religious leader, and the strict observance of Jewish law. Only on few occasions could all these groups present a united front, one of which was the struggle against a government prohibition in the late '30s, to perform ritual slaughter.

The final section of the film describes the anti-Semitism rampant in Poland during this period, which became the official policy of the government after the death of the head of the Polish state, Marshall Jozef Pilsudski, in 1935. The Polish government, acting in response to a severe economic crisis and the ideological influences of Hitlerism and fascism, resorted to a campaign of terror and abuse against the Jewish community. The Pol-

ish population was asked not to patronize Jewish business, and Polish universities were the stage of extreme anti-Semitic activities. A former Polish Jewish student narrates how the Jewish students were terrorized in the classrooms and later removed from the university altogether.

Emigration from Poland before 1939 was probably the only solution for survival. But where were Jews to go? Palestine was closed by the British, while the U.S. and other European and Latin American nations had imposed stringent immigration quotas. The film ends on Sept. 1, 1939, with the German invasion of Poland.

For Joseph Waletzky, the director of the film, the purpose of this documentary "was to show the variety of Jewish political and social involvement, the un-sung threads of Jewish history." He succeeds, and he breaks the traditional myth of a single Jewish identity. One question remains unanswered, however: Was there a class hostility among Jews themselves?

Moreover, I was surprised at the omission of the Jewish communist experience in Poland. Hundreds of young Polish Jews left their homes and families in summer 1936, crossed four borders—including Nazi Germany—and walked over the Pyrenees to join loyalist forces in defense of the Spanish Republic. In Spain, a mostly Polish-Jewish military company, Naftali Botvin, was part of the International Brigades.

Victor Treschan teaches Jewish history at York College, CUNY. Cinema 5 distributes the film. Shocken Books also has published *Image before my Eyes: a Photographic History of Jewish Life in Poland*, in conjunction with YIVO.

CALENDAR

Use the calendar to announce conferences, lectures, films, events, etc. The cost is \$20.00 for two insertions and \$10.00 for each additional insert, for copy of 40 words or less (additional words are 35¢ each). Payment must accompany your announcement, and should be sent to the attention of Bill Rehm.

LOS ANGELES, CA

April & May

The Westcoast Association of Marxist Historians (WAMH) has a two-fold purpose: (1) to address concerns of radical scholars and to facilitate communication among them; and (2) to connect our work as scholars with current struggles. These goals are accomplished through activities which include: forums, study groups, a newsletter, and direct work with community groups. In April and May forums will be presented on: U.S.-Foreign Policy and Central America; Marxist Theories of Patriarchy; Plant Closures and the KKK; Reaganomics. For more information write: WAMH, c/o History, UCLA, LA, CA 90024.

April 22-30

Jewish Film Festival, an alternative collection of international independent cinema, at Melnitz Hall

of UCLA on April 22, 23 and 26, and at the Town and Country Cinema in Encino on April 27-30. Programs include Israeli New Wave, Yiddish Culture and Labor, Contemporary Identity. For more information, call: (213) 654-8292.

April 24

There will be a debate between Carl Marzani, the author of "The Promise of Euro-Communism," and Carl Boggs, co-editor of "The Politics of Euro-Communism" on "The Future of Euro-Communism." Friday at the Socialist Community School, 2936 West 8 Street, at 8:00 p.m.

SANTA MONICA, CA

April 26

Carl Marzani will speak on "The Future of Euro-Communism" on Sunday at 7:30 p.m. at Marine Park Auditorium, 1406 Marine.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

April 15

Come to a benefit for the Karen Silkwood Fund. There will be a premier showing of the BBC production "Silkwood." Featured speakers include: Richard Rashke, author of "The Killing of Karen Silkwood," Tony Mazzocchi, of the OCAW and

members of the Silkwood team. Music performed by Jeanne Mackey and Janet White and Peter and Steve Jones. Tickets are \$4.00 in advance or \$5.00 at the door. From 6-9 p.m. at Common Concerns Bookstore, 1347 Connecticut Ave., N.W., Washington, DC, (202) 797-8106 or 463-6500.

BERKELEY, CA

April 21

Help Berkeley Citizen's Action (BCA) candidates win—get out the vote. Meet at 3126 Shattuck Ave. at 4:00 p.m. Then come to a dinner for campaign workers at 8:00 p.m. If you can phone, canvass or contribute, want more information or a ride, call: Kerry Tremain at (415) 441-5466 (days) or 826-9178 (eves).

NEW YORK, NY

April 26

The Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade will hold their 44th Anniversary Dinner at the Statler Hotel. Hear Gloria Steinem, founder and Editor of Ms. Magazine and Victor Navaski, Editor of the Nation, Entertainment and dinner is \$20.00. Write or call: VALB, 799 Broadway, New York, NY 10003. (212) 674-5552 (from 2-8 p.m.)

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BIOGRAPHY

Memories of a martyr

Faithful Unto Death: The Story of Arthur Zyguelbaum

By Aviva Ravel
Arthur Zyguelbaum Branch,
Workmen's Circle, Montreal
Jewish Labor Bund, 25 E. 78th
St., NYC 10021
193 pp., \$5 paperback

By Daniel Soyfer

"I cannot remain silent—I cannot live—while the remnants of the Jewish people of Poland are perishing. My comrades in the Warsaw ghetto took weapons in their hands on that last heroic impulse. It was not my destiny to die there with them, but I belong to them, and to their mass graves."

With these words, Shmuel Mordechai (Arthur) Zyguelbaum, committed suicide in London in 1943. By taking his own life, Zyguelbaum, the representative of the Jewish Labor Bund in the Polish Parliament-in-exile, hoped to alert the Allied nations to the destruction of Polish Jewry. Unfortunately, Zyguelbaum has been largely forgotten outside Bundist circles. *Faithful*

Unto Death not only sheds some light on this figure, but also on some vital issues in the study of the Holocaust.

For example, the Judenrate, or Jewish Councils set up by the Nazis to administer Jewish affairs, are the subject of much controversy over their role in carrying out the Final Solution. When the invaders called together the Warsaw Judenrat, Zyguelbaum became the Bund's representative on it. Zyguelbaum's experiences on the Warsaw Council in the early days of German occupation are useful in understanding the conflicts within the Judenrate.

When the order finally did come to create a ghetto, the Judenrat was charged with carrying out the order. Zyguelbaum, as "workers' representative," refused to cooperate. From the balcony of the Jewish community building he made a fiery speech to a large crowd, urging Jews not to leave their homes, but to resist. Because of this speech he was forced to go underground and was soon sent out of the country by the Bund.

The book includes a very interesting series of articles Zyguelbaum wrote for the New York Yiddish daily *Forward* reporting on Jewish life in that murky period of transition between the German invasion and the creation of the ghetto. But the largest section of the book consists of Zyguelbaum's account of his trip through the Third Reich on his way to Belgium. This story, featuring encounters with both anti-Semitism and sympathy, reads like a suspense novel. Zyguelbaum was a socialist militant. As a leading member of the Bund he had maintained close ties with the Polish labor movement, and his account of the cooperation of Polish socialists in his escape is testimony to socialist solidarity.

After reaching Brussels in 1940 and travelling briefly to New York, Zyguelbaum went to London in 1942 to represent the Bund in the Polish government.

Faithful Unto Death describes how Zyguelbaum frantically worked to awaken the Polish and Allied governments to the plight of the Jews in Poland, always with specific proposals for

action. The Polish government refused to give this problem top priority and the British regarded his information as "probably true," but, since "it had not been officially confirmed," refused to move on it. Even the Jewish leadership rejected his calls for mass action to force the issue. The Zyguelbaum case shows that if the Allies "did not know" what was happening to the Jews of Europe, it was because they refused to listen.

In the spring of 1943, Zyguelbaum became the main conduit of information from, and aid to,

the fighters in the Warsaw ghetto during the uprising there. Finally, on May 24, he committed suicide. This act may have been a desperate one. But, as a last ditch attempt to win support for the Jewish partisans, it was not a despairing one.

The best parts of the book are those written by Zyguelbaum himself. Those sections contributed by Ravel provide useful information, but lack insightful analysis of Zyguelbaum or the historical context.

Daniel Soyfer is a member of the Jewish Socialist Youth Bund.

CULTURE SHOCK



AND
THEY
SHOULD
SIT
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HANDS

A West German court has ruled that German conscientious objectors must surrender their drivers' licenses, because a car can be a "lethal weapon."

(Zodiac)

IT BEGINS AT HOME

Ronald Reagan, according to *U.S. News and World Report*, has asked Congress to increase White House spending next year by 5.8 percent.

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49 BIBLICAL CONTRADICTIONS. \$3.00. Discovery, Box 20331-ITT, WVC, Utah 84120.

KOREAN HUMAN RIGHTS INFORMATION: 625 Post #888A, SF, CA 94109.

APRIL, JEWISH CURRENTS, Warsaw Ghetto Uprising and Resistance Issue. "The Polish Jewish Question" (Document); "Joseph Czariski, Suspenders, Holocaust story; Leonard Lehrman, "Hannah—A Jewish Feminist Opera"; David Platt, "Fort Apache"; Bernard Weinstein, "Jewish Cigar-Makers 1882." Single copy \$1. Subscription \$10. U.S.A. Jewish Currents, Dept. T, 22 East 17th St. N.Y.C. 10003. New pamphlet: "Soviet Jewish Situation," Gordon, Harap, Magill, Resnick, Schappes—\$1.

READ AND DISTRIBUTE a remarkable interview with Billy Graham in which he tells why he thinks the arms race must be stopped in order to avoid nuclear holocaust. Single copies, 25¢; 10-99, 20¢ each; 100 or more, 15¢ each; postage included. Send payment with order to Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyak, NY 10960.

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RESEARCH COORD/WRIER. Institute for Food and Development Policy seeks person to research U.S. agriculture, write papers, popular articles. Must have background in U.S. agriculture, popular writing; political commitment. \$13,000. Begin summer. Minority, woman sought. Resume and writing samples to Nick Allen, IFDP, 2588 Mission, San Francisco, CA 94110.

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Dry run for Dr. Strangelove

B-52s dropped dummy bombs over the Black Hills during the largest nuclear war exercises ever.

By Michael T. Klare

ABOARD U.S.A.F. KC-135 NO. 8871: The B-52 Stratofortress emerged slowly from black void behind us. At first, all we could see were the blinking navigation lights on its tail, but gradually the menacing shapes of wing and fuselage became apparent. Over the headphones I could hear the B-52's pilot match course and velocity with the KC-135 tanker I was riding. It was 3:00 a.m. on the night of February 14, and we were flying at 28,000 feet over the Black Hills of South Dakota.

Slowly the giant bomber moved below us until its gaping fuel receptacle was directly below the phallus-like fuel boom projecting out from the tail of the KC-135. Next to me, Sgt. Kevin Doyle deftly manipulated the boom into the receptacle and we began pumping aviation fuel into the bomb-laden Stratofortress. Thirty minutes later and 10,000 pounds heavier, the B-52 peeled off and began its bomb run in earnest. Its mission: to drop a planeload of hydrogen bombs on military installations in the Soviet Union.

World War III began on Feb. 8, 1981. At dawn the Strategic Air Command (SAC) received warning of an imminent Soviet nuclear attack on the U.S., and immediately ordered America's entire force of B-52 bombers into the air to escape destruction by incoming Soviet missiles. Hours later, following confirmation of the Soviet attack, the B-52s were ordered to penetrate Soviet airspace and drop their payload of nuclear bombs on pre-selected targets in the USSR. Thence followed three weeks of non-stop nuclear warfare between the superpowers, until every target worth destroying was a radioactive wasteland.

War exercise.

All this might sound like a terrifying but fanciful nightmare—except that just about all of it did in fact occur. The alert and subsequent war maneuvers were part of "Operation Global Shield '81," a SAC training exercise designed to test America's capacity to engage in all-out thermonuclear warfare. Billed by SAC as "the largest nuclear war exercise ever conducted," Global Shield employed some 800 aircraft and 100,000 military personnel at 70 bases in the U.S., Can-

ada and Guam. Although costs of the exercise were not made public, estimates of \$100 million and above do not appear excessive.

From my viewpoint aboard KC-135 No. 8871 (one of the hundreds used to refuel B-52s for round-the-clock air strikes), Global Shield did not appear too different from other training exercises conducted periodically by Air Force units. SAC officials assured me, however, that this one was special.

"This exercise was more realistic than any other one we've ever held," Major "Lew" Lambert of SAC headquarters told me upon disembarking. The air crews were given no advance notice of the Command-wide alert, and operating tempos approached that of a full-scale conflict. "We wanted our crews to perform exactly as they would if the U.S. is actually attacked by enemy forces," he explained. Once the operation began, SAC's press release garnered the interest of a handful of journalists, although few took up the Pentagon's offer of a ride and little coverage appeared in the press.

According to SAC, Global Shield was conducted "to test the Command's capability to carry out the Emergency War Orders that support U.S. policy if deterrence fails." Emergency War Orders—EWOs, in Pentagon parlance—are the coded signals that would trigger all-out retaliation in the event of a nuclear showdown between the two superpowers.

Although the official scenario covering Global Shield was classified, SAC personnel provided this rough synopsis. On Feb. 8, SAC issued its emergency alert and all B-52 crews were ordered to fly their aircraft to pre-arranged "control points" over the United States. Hours later, the bombers received coded signals similar to the EWOs that would be used in a real crisis, directing them to attack simulated Soviet targets with electronic "dummy" bombs. The "targets" used in the exercise were electronic sensors placed at bombing ranges in the western United States and in Canada. Computers on the ground plotted the trajectory of any real bombs that would be dropped at the site, and scored the bomber crews on the accuracy of their attack.

In an actual crisis, SAC officials explained, the B-52s would be flown to selected "control points" on the edge of Soviet airspace, and then circle around until receiving orders either to proceed on course or to return to base. Theoretically only the President—or the designated "National Command Authorities" who would take over in the event of his death—can order the bombers beyond this point. Each B-52 carries a super-secret electronic "black box" that contains the pre-coded EWOs. If the President orders an attack on the Soviet Union, the Pentagon will flash an electronic signal to the "black box," which will

then direct the pilot to depart the control point and begin his attack on the USSR.

While the B-52s were simulating attack, SAC launched a pair of Minuteman-III intercontinental ballistic missiles from Vandenberg Air Force Base, Calif. These missiles, taken from operational Minuteman silos at Minot Air Force Base, N. Dak., were fired into the Pacific Ocean near the Army's ballistic missile test range at Kwajalein Atoll. One of the missiles was fired from a ground launch site similar to that at Minot and other SAC missile bases, while the other was fired from an "airborne command post" (a fully-equipped nuclear combat headquarters built into an EC-135 jet aircraft) like those kept aloft at all times. Except for the fact that the missiles were stripped of their nuclear warheads, the Minuteman firings followed wartime procedures in all respects.

In the real world.

Throughout the exercise, SAC officials maintained that Global Shield was "not related to any 'real world' events." Yet this coming just two weeks after President Reagan's inauguration, and at a time when his top appointees to the Departments of State and Defense were exhorting Congress on the need for an intensified arms race with the USSR, one could hardly avoid concluding that Global Shield represented an unmistakable signal of America's growing readiness to conduct a thermonuclear war.

Last August the Carter administration adopted a new nuclear war doctrine known as PD-59 (for Presidential Directive Number 59), which calls for a shift to an aggressive, "war-fighting" posture. Although Reagan criticized Carter's defense policies during the election campaign, he has endorsed the conclusions of PD-59 and called for an even faster expansion of U.S. nuclear stockpiles.

These moves, along with continuing nuclear arms modernization in the Soviet Union, have led analysts to conclude that the superpowers are now closer to the brink of nuclear war than at any other time since the Cuban missile crisis of 1962. "For the first time in nearly two decades," editor Stephen Rosenfeld of the *Washington Post* noted recently, "war with the Soviet Union has turned from seeming theoretically possible to seeming actually possible—and not just cold war but hot war, a shooting war; even a nuclear war."

Operation Global Shield may not, as SAC contends, bear any direct relationship to real-world events—but it certainly suggests that Washington feels it necessary to "crank up" the nuclear war machine to a higher stage of war-readiness. And because such moves inevitably trigger similar moves by the Soviet Union, there is every likelihood that Global Shield will prove a self-fulfilling prophecy by moving us that much closer to World War III.

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